GUERNSEY:

ITS PEOPLE AND DIALECT

DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

EDWIN SEELYE LEWIS

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DEDICATED TO

PROFESSOR A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT,

AS A TOKEN OF

GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION.

GUERNSEY: ITS PEOPLE AND DIALECT.

Introduction.

Guernsey, in shape a triangle and sloping toward the North, is divided into twenty parishes. The Lower or Northern Parishes are those most frequently visited by strangers; here the scenery is quiet, the bays are large, with beautiful white sand-beaches, varied, here and there, by some bold projection. The Southern coast, on the contrary, is beautiful in its very ruggedness; here, cliffs a hundred feet in height, wild and fierce, sea gulls and crows with their piercing shrieks, waves dashing against the rocks and into the caverns, all contribute to produce a peculiar fascination on the visitor.

The climate of the Channel Islands resembles that of the neighboring shores of England and France. The prevailing winds are warm and moist, the easterly being the most violent, and large stones have sometimes been thrown over the wall built at the edge of the water, and across a wide road. The usual state of the atmosphere is one of uncomfortable moisture, especially to those accustomed only to the enervating climate of the United States. The natives are strong and healthy, and men, well along in years, are seen with rosy cheeks; but the Guernseyman is not robust, like the English-

man, nor is he as energetic; he works well and intelligently, but everything is done slowly, and it is, doubtless, this freedom from hurry, as well as the pleasant climate, that preserves the health and prolongs the life of the islanders. The poor enjoy superior comforts, in their small huts, near a sea into which they do not fear to dip themselves from time to time, with healthy surroundings and no wild desire to acquire wealth in a day. The winters are said to be very mild, and the summers are delightfully cool.

The surface of this island is of about twenty-four square miles, from which a third must be deducted for rocks, cliffs and places not susceptive of cultivation. We must not, therefore, expect to meet a great variety in the products, nor an extensive system of agriculture. The extreme subdivision of land may perhaps diminish the usefulness of what little ground can be cultivated, but the corresponding advantage of enabling the poorest man to own a little property, in which he can become interested, must be, in the minds of most persons, of sufficient weight to induce the preservation of the present system of the tenure of property. The soil being fertile, and the manure, afforded by sand and sea-weed, increasing this fertility, small farms are seen everywhere, even to the very edge of the sea, and on every inch of the ground something useful is being cultivated. On these farms is raised the famous Guernsey cow, large and of a bright yellow, and the islanders are so proud of their cattle, that every foreign breed is rigorously excluded, and only the meat required at the slaughter-house is allowed to enter the island.

Fruits and flowers, especially grapes and tomatoes, are the main product of the hundreds of greenhouses that cover the island in all directions, giving it a peculiar appearance, when the sun is reflected from all this glass. This fruit is sold at high prices in London and other large cities in England, and is the chief source of whatever little wealth the inhabitants may possess.

It is not unlikely that, when the early inhabitants of England, driven before the victorious Saxons, fled to Wales, and thence, across the sea, to Brittany, some should have been attracted to these islands and have been among the first regular colonists. There is a tradition, that the Saracens possessed a stronghold in Guernsey, called the castle of Geoffrey; this site is now peacefully occupied by a church, but the view from there, overlooking the whole island, easily explains why those fierce warriors had chosen this position in preference to any other.

Although no proof exists of the fact, we may, however, reasonably infer that Rollo, in the 10th century, possessed the Channel Islands, as well as Normandy and Brittany. Richard the First, third duke of Normandy, banished the monks of Mount Saint Michael to Guernsey, where they settled and built a church, dedicated to Saint Michael, and around these monks, so many other persons congregated, that their possession of the land was confirmed by Robert, sixth duke of Normandy.

In 1031 Guernsey was attacked by a strong band of pirates, who were soon disbanded by the inhabitants and monks, supported by some troops under D'Anneville, an officer sent by William the Conqueror, who seemed to take considerable interest in these islands. After the conquest of England, the constitution of the islands was in no respect changed, for the inhabitants were on the victorious side, and, to this day, they are anxious to impress on strangers that they have never been conquered by England, but, in reality, have themselves been the conquerors, and, as such, have retained their independence throughout these eight centuries. After the death of William, England and Normandy were separated, and remained so until reunited by Henry the First, in 1106; Henry the Second did not succeed his grandfather to the English crown, but was recognized by the barons as duke of Normandy. During these changes, the Channel Islands remained in the possession of the Norman dukes, and the English king, Stephen, had no

jurisdiction over this bailiwick; the inhabitants proved thus their fidelity to their dukes, though these were at war with England. Cornet Castle, an imposing structure at the entrance of St. Peter Port, was built at this time by Henry, who feared lest the English king might make an attempt to capture Guernsey, and thus gain a decided advantage over the Norman army.

When Henry succeeded Stephen on the throne of England, his youngest son John was appointed Lord and Governor of the Channel Islands. After John had become king, he was summoned by Philip Augustus before the Court of the Peers of France; on his refusal to appear, his right to Normandy was forfeited, but no data exist as to whether the islands were included in this forfeiture; we do know that the inhabitants remained true to John, who, with their financial aid, kept a standing army in Guernsey and Jersey. Owing to the loss of Normandy, it became necessary to provide a peculiar administration for these islands, and John accordingly established in each a jurisdiction of its own, thinking thus to strengthen the devotion of the islanders to his cause; John may therefore be looked upon by the inhabitants as the real founder of their present independence.

The islands were henceforth subject to repeated attacks by the French, and Castle Cornet was captured at this time, but was recovered during the reign of Henry the Third. In this king's treaty with Louis of France, especial care was taken by him to reserve these islands, with the province of Gascony, and he constantly showed, as did also his successors, his attachment to these sturdy subjects. Owing to local disturbances, an important fiscal code was drawn up during the reign of Edward the Second, called the *Précepte d'Assize*, in conformity with the ancient customs, as established by John. The French again successfully attacked Guernsey; the resistance of the islanders was gallant, but superiority in numbers prevailed; this was in 1339. In 1340 Guernsey was delivered from French rule, and was granted its old liberties by Edward.

In 1360 the English monarch ceded to France, by treaty, the province of Normandy, but specially reserved to himself the possession of the Channel Islands. This treaty was not respected, for, within twelve years, took place what is popularly known in Guernsey as the *Descente des Saragousais;* the Guernseymen, numbering only eight hundred, retreated to Castle Cornet, whence they repulsed every attack of the enemy; this plucky resistance of the natives saved Guernsey, and the French commander, despairing of success, evacuated the island.

In the reign of Richard the Second, a treaty was made between the kings of France and Castile to utterly destroy the Channel Islands, with the Isle of Wight; but fortunately this confederacy had no results, and King Richard confirmed, before his death, the charters of Guernsey, which were again confirmed by Henry the Sixth, during whose reign, part of Jersey was captured by the French, and held until relieved by the English forces, with help from the Guernseymen, who, as a reward, were granted still greater favors by Edward the Fourth. The privilege of neutrality was also conceded to Guernsey, and quiet reigned in that island until the French, shortly after the accession of Edward the Sixth, made a weak and unsuccessful attempt to invade the Channel Islands; the only result was the capture of Sark, which was held by the enemy until recovered during the reign of Mary.

During this reign of Queen Mary, Guernsey was granted several new privileges, but, toward its end, experienced the horrors of popery, from which it was relieved only by the accession of Elizabeth. In 1563 more serious work was begun on the harbor of St. Peter Port, and the queen, in many ways, showed what importance she attached to the completion of this undertaking. Elizabeth also endowed a grammar school in Guernsey, from which has grown a magnificent college, the pride of every true Guernseyman and an influential seat of learning.

This peace was troubled, in the reign of Charles the First, when Jersey adhered to the king, while Guernsey took the part of the parliament, although the lieutenant-governor, fortified in Castle Cornet, remained loyal to Charles and did not scruple, time and again, to fire into the city, to the terror of the inhabitants and the damage of commerce. The Guernseymen remained stanch in their devotion to parliament, but a succession of petty disputes among their leaders, added to the loyalty of Castle Cornet to the king, were the source of great anxiety to them. Fortunately, Castle Cornet at last capitulated, in 1651, but on terms highly favorable to the besieged, who fully deserved the consideration of their enemies.

Upon the restoration of Charles the Second to the throne of his ancestors, the inhabitants seemed to forget their allegiance to the commonwealth, and acknowledged the hereditary title of the Stuarts; the king, by his favors to the islanders, showed no resentment against them for having sided with the parliament.

For the next hundred years very little of importance occurred in Guernsey, the only fact worth mentioning being the loyalty of the people to the Protestant religion, which made them welcome with eagerness the landing of the Prince of Orange in England; the Catholic soldiers were disarmed, and the island was secured to the cause of Protestantism.

When the seven years' war broke out between England and France, a strong effort was made by the French to secure the Channel Islands, but the timely arrival of reinforcements from England prevented any great damage being done.

From this date to the present time, the histories of Guernsey are filled with new regulations as to taxes, laws for debt, etc., but no attack of importance was made by the enemy, nor did any decided change take place in the government of the island; the people are still stanch in their loyalty to the British throne, and, in their sympathies, are more English than the inhabitants of Jersey; every honor was shown Queen Victoria on her visit to the island, and, should she ever need

their help, the Guernseymen will no doubt prove as faithful and as brave as did their forefathers, when it became their duty to defend their own rights or those of their rightful monarchs.

It has frequently been noticed that on a small island, like the one we are now considering, the dialect has been broken up into fairly distinct subdialects, even more than would occur on an open continent; we are not surprised, therefore, to find that the Guernsey patois of the Upper Parishes, to the South, differs from that spoken in the Lower Parishes; in the latter the pronunciation is broader and slower; this deliberate articulation, though clearly separating the parishes, is difficult to illustrate accurately. There are also a few specific differences, as, for example, the pronunciation of *labu·ər* (French *labour*) of the Lower Parishes, but *labu·ar* elsewhere. So *pə*^{n} and *burdə*^{n} would be heard along the Northern coast, whereas the Upper Parishes would have *pa*^{n}*ə*^{n} and *burda*^{n}*ə*^{n}; *kürjœ* and the infinitive *tuſe* to the North, but *kürjaœ·* and *tuſje* almost everywhere else. These last examples can be easily explained when one remembers that it is in the Lower Parishes that visitors dwell mostly and that there the Guernsey people of wealth have their summer homes; this intercourse with the outside world, and with persons speaking pure French, has caused the folk to imitate French proper more closely, while the people to the South have retained their old pronunciation.[1]

Thus are illustrated the inroads that Modern French is constantly making on the patois, with the inevitable result of finally destroying its last living vestiges. But it must be confessed that the French spoken in the courts, and in the city generally, although supposed to be correct, is, to say the least, very peculiar.

When a good French word is taken into the patois, it is usually introduced bodily, and, with the help of the schools, this is being done more and more; not so, however, with

[1] Further differences in the linguistic results of the Upper and the Lower Parishes are noted in the course of this dissertation.

the English terms, which are generally changed to meet the requirements of the speaker. The dialect has thus to contend against two strong foes, and the fight is so unequal that it cannot last much longer.

A few words, in conclusion, on how the material for this dissertation was collected may be of some interest. In the middle of May, 1889, I arrived in Guernsey, and, with a letter of introduction to Mr. Corbet, went at once to his home, where I remained until October. Mr. Corbet is one of the principal living poets of Guernsey, and was a good friend of the late Mr. Métivier, who wrote so much in his beloved patois. With Mr. Corbet's assistance, I learned to speak the Guernsey dialect, while carefully noting his pronunciation; when opportunity offered, I wandered about the neighborhood, talking with every countryman I chanced to meet, and jotting down especially the phonetic results of these conversations. All this part of my material was drawn from the Upper Parishes. I soon began, however, to make excursions into the Lower Parishes. Mr. Corbet and I also worked together on the different prose and poetical pieces in the dialect, he carefully giving me the pronunciation and meaning of any word or sentence I did not know.

On my return to America, in the autumn of 1889, I put together the material I had gathered and, in 1890, presented it as my fellowship-dissertation. In the June of 1891, I landed for the second time in Guernsey, where I remained until September. I first went to Mr. Corbet's home, which I considered as my headquarters and whence I made excursions all over the island; I thus met and conversed with all sorts of people. Eventually, I went to live with Mr. Guilbert, in the Lower Parishes, where I could hear, every day, the patois as spoken in that part of the island. Mr. Guilbert is another of Guernsey's poets, and, though very modest, one of the most, if not the most, natural and sympathetic. With him I did the same kind of work as with Mr. Corbet, even going over most of my old material. At St. Peter Port, I

consulted the official records carefully enough to see that no valuable aid on the patois could be obtained from them.

I next went to Paris, where I remained several weeks, working, in the National Library, on the Guernsey dialect. It was there that I had the pleasure of meeting Professor Charles Joret, and my researches in the library were made much pleasanter by the interest and sympathy he so kindly manifested in my work.

In this dissertation I have carefully avoided the discussion of certain very complicated questions, such as the varied development of *o*, or the origin of *nou* (for the French *on*) and of *le cien;* I intend to take up these points separately, in the endeavor to find some satisfactory solution. Another interesting question that cannot be considered here, is the relation of the old Norman texts to the Norman patois actually spoken at that time. The object of this thesis is to indicate the differences between the Guernsey dialect and French proper; all results that are similar have been either omitted entirely or simply mentioned. The whole of the Guernsey literature has been examined, so that it may safely be said that if any development is not found in this work, it either is exactly similar to the development in French proper, or is not illustrated by examples from the Guernsey literature or even from the spoken language. The morphology will be treated later, in a separate publication.

In the examples, throughout this dissertation, the phonetic spelling comes first, in italics, then the usual spelling of the Guernsey writers, and, lastly, the Latin word that serves as basis to the patois form. Many examples are given that are not found in the Guernsey literature, but I have generally asked Mr. Corbet how he would spell such words. The Latin etyma have nearly all been taken from Körting's *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch.*[1]

[1] I wish to state here that through unavoidable circumstances the publication of this dissertation has been delayed more than a year, during which time no alterations have been made in the subject-matter.

Professor Elliott suggested this subject to me; through him I have been constantly encouraged and helped, and it is a pleasure to thank him here for his valuable aid throughout this work. I must also express my thanks to Professor Matzke for having carefully read this dissertation and for having helped me with his suggestions. It gives me pleasure to add an expression of my appreciation of the assistance of Mr. Corbet and Mr. Guilbert, without whom I could not have gathered all this material, and of the help of Mr. John Linwood Pitts, and also of Mr. Guille and Mr. Allès, who so kindly put at my disposal the valuable contents of the public library at St. Peter Port, founded by their munificence.

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION.

a	is	pronounced	as	in p*â*te,
ɒ	"	"	"	" p*a*tte,
e	"	"	"	" b*é*b*é*,
ə	"	"	"	" p*è*re,
ë	"	"	"	" l*e*,
i	"	"	"	" fin*i*,
o	"	"	"	" tr*ó*ne,
ɔ	"	"	"	" f*o*rt,
u	"	"	"	" s*ou*,
ü	"	"	"	" m*u*r,
œ	"	"	"	" h*eu*re,
k	"	"	"	" *c*rin,
g	"	"	"	" *g*rain,
ʃ	"	"	"	" *ch*ant,
ʒ	"	"	"	" *g*ent,
λ	"	"	"	" Italian fi*gl*io,
ñ	"	"	"	" campa*gn*e,
j	"	"	"	" b*i*en,
w	"	"	"	" *ou*i,
ẅ	"	"	"	" b*u*is.

SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

Signs.

$>$ means gives, becomes,
$<$ " from, comes from,
$a\cdot$ " short a,
$a:$ " long a,
a' " tonic a,
a'' " subtonic a,
a^n " nasal a.

Common Abbreviations.

L. L.	stands	for	Low Latin,
Rom.	"	"	Romance,
Germ.	"	"	Germanic,
O. H. G.	"	"	Old High German,
Gr.	"	"	Greek,
It.	"	"	Italian,
masc.	"	"	masculine,
fem.	"	"	feminine,
sing.	"	"	singular,
plur.	"	"	plural,
nom.	"	"	nominative, or subject case,
acc.	"	"	accusative, or direct object case,
dat.	"	"	dative, or indirect object case,
obj.	"	"	objective case.

Abbreviations of Works.

Bessin,	cf.	No.	14	of	Bibliography,
Bl.,	"	"	49	"	"
C. D. R.,	"	"	40	"	"
Dict.,	"	"	37	"	"
Extension,	"	"	11	"	"

F. F.,	cf.	No.	39	of	Bibliography,
F. G.,	"	"	34	"	"
Hague,	"	"	20	"	"
Mélanges,	"	"	13	"	"
Norm. Mund.,	"	"	8	"	"
P. P.,	"	"	43	"	"
P. G.,	"	"	38	"	"
R. G.,	"	"	33	"	"
Saire,	"	"	21	"	"
S. M.,	"	"	35	"	"
St. Mat.,	"	"	36	"	"

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Dictionaries.

1.—*Dictionnaire du patois normand* par Ed. Duméril (1849); 8°.

2.—*Glossaire du patois normand* par Louis du Bois (Caen, 1856); XL–440 pp., 8°.

3.—*Histoire et glossaire du normand* par Le Hérichier (Avranches, 1862); 3 vols., 8°.

4.—*A dictionary of the Norman or Old French language, to which are added the Laws of William the Conqueror*, by Robert Kellam (London, 1779); VIII–259–XII–88 pp., 8°.

5.—*Dictionnaire du patois normand en usage dans le département de l'Eure* par Robin, Le Prévost, A. Passy, De Blosseville (Evreux, 1879); XXIV–458 pp., 8°.

6.—*Dictionnaire du patois du pays de Bray* par l'Abbé J. E. Decorde (Rouen, 1852); 140 pp., 8°.

[1] Only those works are mentioned which have had a positive influence in the preparation of this dissertation. It has not been thought best to include, in this list, works that deal with the Old Norman dialect, as they are all well known.

7.—*Noms de famille normands étudiés dans leurs rapports avec la vieille langue et spécialement avec le dialecte normand ancien et moderne* par Henri Moisy (Paris, 1875), XXIV–448 pp., 8°.

Modern Norman Dialect.[1]

8.—*Entwicklung der normannischen Mundart im Département de la Marche und auf den Inseln Guernsey und Jersey* von Bruno Eggert (*Zts. f. Rom. Phil.*, XIII, 1889, pp. 353–403). The first half of this study was published as a dissertation (Halle, 1889), 31 pp., 8°.

9.—*Remarques sur quelques expressions usitées en Normandie, leur emploi par certains auteurs, leur origine, leur étymologie*, etc., par Gustave Le Vavasseur, extrait de *L'Annuaire normand*—année 1878 (Caen, 1878); 106 pp., 8°.

10.—*De quelques modes de prononciation usités en patois normand* par Henri Moisy (*Revue hist. de l'anc. lang. française et Revue des patois de la France*, I, pp. 301–307, 344–350; II, pp. 52–56, 75–78).

11.—*Des caractères et de l'extension du patois normand*, étude, suivie d'une carte, par Charles Joret (Paris, 1883); XXXII–211 pp., 8°.

12.—*Charles Joret. Des caractères et de l'extension du patois normand*, revue par J. Gilliéron, extrait de la *Romania*, vol. XII (Nogent-le-Rotrou); 10 pp., 8°.

13.—*Mélanges de phonétique normande* par Charles Joret (Paris, 1884); LVI–64 pp., 8°.

14.—*Essai sur le patois normand du Bessin* par Charles Joret (*Mémoires de la Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, III, 1878, pp. 210–247).

15.—*Essai historique sur la ville de Bayeux et son arrondissement* par Frédéric Pluquet (Caen, 1829); II–427–V pp., 8°.

[1] The works mentioned in this section relate mainly to the dialects of Western Normandy, near Guernsey.

16.—*Contes populaires, traditions, proverbes et dictons de l'arrondissement de Bayeux, suivis d'un vocabulaire des mots rustiques et des noms de lieu les plus remarquables de ce pays*, par Frédéric Pluquet (Caen, 1825); 79 pp., 8°.

17.—*Chansons normands du XV^e siècle, publiées pour la 1^ère fois sur les Manuscrits de Bayeux et de Vire, avec introduction et notes*, par A. Gasté (Caen, 1866); XLIII–146–28 pp., 8°.

18.—*Littérature orale de la Basse Normandie* par Jean Fleury (Paris, 1883); XII–396 pp., 16°.

19.—*Flore populaire de la Normandie* par Charles Joret (Caen et Paris, 1887).

20.—*Essai sur le patois normand de la Hague* par Jean Fleury (Paris, 1886); 368 pp., 8°.

21.—*Glossaire du patois du Val de Saire, suivi de remarques grammaticales*, par Axel Romdahl (Linköping, 1881); 81 pp., 8°.

22.—*Ueber die Volkssprache des 13. Jahrhunderts in Calvados und Orne mit Hinzuziehung des heute dort gebräuchlichen Patois*, Dissertation von Albert Küppers (Halle, 1889); 54 pp., 8°.

23.—*Esquisses du Bocage normand* par Jules Lecœur (Condé-sur-Noireau, 1883); 408 pp., 8°.

24.—*La Campénade, poème héroï-comi-burlesque, suivi de La Foire d'Etouvy, précédé d'une notice sur sa vie*, par Lalleman, 3^e édition (Vire, 1865); 134 pp., 8°. In this work is found the *Rendez-vous du départ*, in which some of the personages speak in the patois of Vire.

25.—*Etude sur la poésie populaire en Normandie, et spécialement dans l'Avranchin*, par Eugène de Beaurepaire (Avranches et Paris, 1856); 87 pp., 8°.

26.—*La Normandie romanesque et merveilleuse. Traditions, légendes et superstitions populaires de cette province*, par Amélie Bosquet (Paris et Rouen, 1845); XVI–520 pp., 8°.

Works on Guernsey.[1]

27.—*History of Guernsey, and biographical sketches,* by Jonathan Duncan (London, 1841); xvi–656 pp., 8°.

28.—*History of Jersey,* by Philip Fable, has some references to Guernsey.

29.—*History of Guernsey and other Channel Islands,* by Tupper.

30.—*Les îles de la Manche, Jersey et Guernesey en 1840 et 1849,* par X**** (*Revue des deux mondes,* nouvelle période, vol. IV, 1849, pp. 937–967).

31.—*Guernsey, its present state and future prospects,* by ——— (*Dublin University Magazine,* XXVIII, 1846, pp. 624–634, 704–716).

32.—*Guernsey and Sark,* by George E. Waring, Jr. (*Scribner's Magazine,* X, 1875, pp. 574–591).

Guernsey Patois.

33.—*Rimes guernesiaises par un câtelain*—Georges Métivier (Guernsey, 1831); iv–116 pp., 12°. Another edition, with small illustrations, has been published (1883).

34.—*Fantaisies guernesiaises* par Georges Métivier (Guernsey, 1866); 12°.

35.—*The Sermon on the Mount and the parable of the Sower, translated in the Franco-Norman dialect of Guernsey,* by Georges Métivier, edited by John Linwood Pitts (Guernsey); xi–41 pp., 16°.

36.—*Le saint évangile selon St. Matthieu, traduit en Normand de Guernesey* (London, 1863).

37.—*Dictionnaire Franco-Normand, ou recueil des mots particuliers au dialecte de Guernesey, faisant voir leurs relations romanes, celtiques et tudesques,* par Georges Métivier (London and Edinburgh, 1870); viii–499 pp., 8°.

[1] In this section no mention is made of the works that deal with the archæology or with the laws of Guernsey.

38.—*Poësies guernesiaises et françaises*, avec glossaire, par Georges Métivier (Guernesey, 1883); XIII–324–XLVII, pp., 8°.

39.—*Les Feuilles de la Forêt, ou recueil de poësie originale, en anglais, français et guernesiais*, par Denys Corbet (Guernesey, 1871); 224 pp., 12°.

40.—*Les Chànts du drain Rimeux, ou pièces de poésie originale en guernesiais et en français*, par Denys Corbet (Guernesey, 1884); 256 pp., 12°.

41.—*Le jour de l'an, pièces de poësie originale, en français et en guernesiais*, par Denys Corbet (Guernesey); appeared for the years 1874, 1875, 1876 and 1877; about 32 pp., 12°, each.

42.—*Le Chant des Fontaines*, par Thomas Lenfestey (Guernesey, 1875); XV–64 pp., 12°.

43.—*The patois poems of the Channel Islands, the Norman-French text, edited with parallel English translation, historical introduction, and notes*, by John Linwood Pitts (Guernesey, 1883); 2 vols., VIII–62 and XVI–79 pp., 8°.

44.—*La nouvelle année*, with pieces in the patois of Guernsey and Jersey; a yearly calendar (Jersey, 1867–1875).

45.—*A Christmas box of Channel Gems, being a Christmas Annual for the Channel Islands*, edited by "Honey Bee" (Guernsey, 1882); 51 pp., 8°.

46.—*Channel Gems*, edited by A. N. Le Cheminant (Guernsey, 1883); only one number appeared (March 1st); 40 pp., 8°. The last two publications contain a few pieces in the Guernsey dialect.

47.—*Folk-lore of Guernsey and Sark*, by Louisa Lane-Clarke, 2nd edition (Guernsey, 1890); VII–152 pp., 12°. This work contains a few Guernsey poems.

48.—*La Gazette Officielle de Guernesey*, a weekly newspaper, has published some dialect poems, all of which, however, can be found in the works already mentioned.

49.—*Le Baillage*, a weekly newspaper, for which Mr. Corbet has frequently written articles, in the Guernsey patois, since 1887.

Chapter I.

TONIC VOWELS.

a

I.— *a′ in open syllable.*

§ 1.— *a′* + oral cons. + voc.,
a′ + mute + liquid.

(1) In such a position, *a′* > *a′i·*, with a distinct final *i*-sound, very short and with a tendency toward wideness. Examples: *ai·l* (aïle): ALAM, *amai·r* (amaïre): AMARAM, *asai·* (assaïz): AD + SATIS, *bλai·* (bllaï): *BLATUM, *fai·v* (faïve): FABAM, *fümai·* (fumâïe): FUMATA, *kai·* (quaï): QUALEM, *kjai·r* (cllaïr): CLARUM, *kλai·* (cllaï): CLAVEM, *kotai·* (cotaï): COSTATUM, *mai·r* (maïr): MARE, *nai·* (naïz): NASUM, *pe"sa:i·* (pensâïe): PENSATAM, *prai·* (praï): PRATUM, *ruza:i·* (rousâïe): *ARROSARE, *sai·l* (saïl): SAL, *tai·* (taï): TALEM, *lai·vr* (laïvre): LABRUM, *mai·r* (maïre): MATREM, *pai·r* (païre): PATREM.

(2) In the modern Norman patois the results vary, being *e*, *a′i·* or *o*,[1] the diphthong *a′i·* (written *ai* by Fleury) being the development for the dialect of the Hague. Joret's first opinion,[2] agreeing with Lücking's,[3] was that *a′i·* represented the first stage between Latin *a* and French *e*; but as *ei* (*ey*) is found in the old Norman MSS.,[4] it is most likely that *a′i·* is a later Norman development of the previous *ei* (*ey*).[5] Attention might be called to the fact that it was an Old Norman characteristic to write *ai* (from Latin Ē).[6] We thus see that the Guernsey *a′i·* represents a phenomenon already found in Old Norman, and still heard in the Hague and in the North of the Cotentin.[7]

[1] Joret, *Mélanges*, p. 12; Fleury, *Hague*, pp. 31, 32; Joret, *Bessin*, p. 220.
[2] *Mélanges*, p. 12. [3] *Aelt. frz. Mund.*, p. 101.
[4] Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 374.
[5] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 214, § 226, and Joret, *Mélanges*, p. 16.
[6] Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, p. xviii, 17. [7] Joret, *Mélanges*, p. 12.

(3) A few exceptions are to be noted. *pa:r* (pâre): PAREM, without any following *i*-sound. *kjər* (quer, caêr): QUARE, which, in Guernsey, is pronounced with an open *e*, and not closed, as Eggert[1] would have it. PATREM and MATREM, when applied to human beings, have the same results in Guernsey as in French proper, but when referring to animals, they give *pai·r* and *mai·r*, as noted above. Owing to the following labial consonant, *GRAVAT > *grœv* (greuve).

§ 2.— a' + nasal + voc.

(1) The result is the same as when a' is followed by an oral consonant: $a' > a'i·$. Examples: *ai·m* (aïme): AMAT, *fəⁿtai·n* (fontaïne): FONTANAM, *grai·n* (graïne): GRANUM, *kaptai·n* (cap'taïne): *CAPITANUM, *kastai·n* (castaïne): CASTANEAM, *rai·n* (raïne): RANAM, *smai·n* (s'maïne): SEPTIMANAM, *ʃaⁿtai·n* (chentaïne): CENTUM, and the adjectives having, in the feminine, the same termination as *sai·n* (saïne): SANAM, *suvrai·n* (souvraïne): SUPERANAM, etc.

(2) In French, *ai* in this position began to be pronounced *ə* already in 1550.[2] The only part of Normandy that has a diphthong corresponding to this one, is the Hague, where, however, the *a* is nasalized (*ãy*);[3] in the Val de Saire,[4] *a* remains, in this position, but becomes *e* in the Bessin.[5]

§ 3.— a' + final nasal.

(1) In the treatment of a' in this position, the Parishes differ slightly: the Upper Parishes show the result $a'ə^n$, or (with the *a* changed to *ɒ* under the influence of $ə^n$) $ɒ'ə^n$; in the Lower Parishes, the development of a' + final nasal has been pushed further, since the product is $ə^n$, without any trace

[1] Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, pp. 373–4; this development is similar to that of (*k*+) *a* into *je*, § 4.

[2] Suchier, *Français et Provençal*, p. 54.

[3] Fleury, *Hague*, p. 33.

[4] Romdahl, *Saire*, p. 11.

[5] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 220, 1°, β.

of diphthongization. Sometimes also both vowels of the diphthong are nasalized, so that $a^{n\prime}ə^{n}$ (or $ɒ^{n\prime}ə^{n}$) is heard. Examples: *dmaə*^{n} (d'maïn): DE + MANE, *faə*^{n} (faïm): FAMEM, *maə*^{n} (maïn): MANUM, *paə*^{n} (païn): PANEM, *viljaə*^{n} (villaïn): *VILLANUM.

(2) In French proper, the pronunciation *ə*^{n} became general only by the end of the 16th century,[1] showing that the development in the Lower Parishes is more recent than that in the Upper Parishes.[2] *i*^{n} is heard in the Bessin,[3] but the result that corresponds the most closely to ours is the *ãyn* of the Hague.[4]

§ 4.— *k* (*g* or mouillé cons.) + *a′*.

(1) The change is twofold: the first is into *je* or, when an *r* follows, into *jə* (sometimes *ə*); the second is into *i*.

(2) As illustrations of the first result, we shall take the infinitives in -ARE, when preceded by a *k* (*g*). Here we meet with the ending *je*, the usual pronunciation of uneducated Guernseymen. Examples: *bai·zje* (baïsier), *epüʃje* (épuchier), *ərbəɾʒje* (herbergier), *fikje* (fiquier), *fəɾʒje* (forgier), *katu·ailje* (catouailler), *ku·aʃje* (couachier), *lai·sje* (laïssier), *ma*^{n}*ʒje* (mangier), *mniʃje* (m'nichier), *skje* (s'quier), *ʃëvoʃje* (chevauchier), *taɾʒje* (targier), *tuʃje* (touchier), *ʒüʒje* (jugier).[5] Some few persons, probably influenced by the written language, pronounce *-jəɾ*, instead of *-je*, and indeed the pronunciation *-e*, without any *j*-sound, is beginning to be heard in the Lower Parishes. Beside these infinitives, we find *dəɾʃje* (derchié): CAPUT and *ʃjəɾ* (chier): CARUM.[6]

(3) These infinitives have been treated according to the Bartsch-Mussafia law, with a pronunciation *-jə* at the start,

[1] Suchier, *Franç.*, pp. 43 and 54.

[2] For a series $a^{n}i > ɒ^{n}i$, etc., cf. Schwan, *Gram.* (2nd ed.), § 304, Schwan's *œ* corresponding to *ɒ* as used in this dissertation.

[3] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 220, 1°, *β*. [4] Fleury, *Hague*, p. 33.

[5] The same result *je* is noted in *ku·efje* (couêffier): O. H. G. KUPPHJA and in *pʌjef* (pllèche): PLATEAM.

[6] *e* is found in *eger* (éguère): Frankish *WARON and in *ətʃel* (étchelle): SCALAM.

but *-je* later;[1] in French, *ie* of the infinitive was reduced to *e* at the end of the 14th century, becoming *e* in other forms only in the 15th century.[2] In Anglo-Norman, *ie* was reduced to *e* between 1174 and 1183.[3] Neither in Guernsey, nor in the Hague,[4] where even the step *iei* is heard, is this *je* reduced to *e; ie* is also found in the Bessin.[5]

(4) We must now consider the second result, which is *i*. This *i* comes through the stage *iei·* (or *jei*), illustrated by such words as *aidiei, chiei* that are found in the patois of the Hague.[6] An *i·* is added to *je* through the tendency, noticed among the common people, to drawl out or prolong the vowels, and it is in the prolongation of *je* that a slight *i*-sound is developed immediately after it, and *jei·* would then be reduced to *i*.[7] The examples found are, *ai·zi* (aîsi): *AD + ATIARE, *braʃi:* (brasshie): BRACCHIUM, *iraⁿñi:* (iragnie): *ARANEATAM, *kɔⁿ-pəⁿñi:* (compengnie): *COMPANIATAM, *koʃi:* (cauchie): CALCIATAM, *marʃi* (marshi): MERCATUM, *pəⁿʃi:* (pinchie): √PIC, *pu·añi:* (pouagnie): PUGNUM,[8] and all the past participles of verbs with the termination *-je* in the infinitive—*bai·zi* (baïsi), *epüʃi* (épuchi), etc.[9] The *i*, following a mouillé consonant, need not necessarily be developed through the stage *jei·*, as explained above, but *-je* could become directly *i* under the influence of the preceding mouillé consonant, which, being palatal, always has a strong *i*-, or raising, influence: $je > i·e' > i'e· > i$. This same explanation can also be applied to the development of (*k* or *g* +) *a* into *i*. Since the gutturals, and especially their developed sounds *ʃ* and *ʒ*, require a position of the tongue

[1] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 30. [2] *Id.*, p. 51.

[3] Suchier, *Reimp.*, p. XVI, 1; Görlich, *Mak.*, p. XLIII; Suchier, *St. Auban*, p. 2, and Busch, *Ang.-Norm.*, p. 66. *sole* and *pane* (§ 9) may represent the Anglo-Norman reduction of *ie* to *e*, while the French retains the diphthong (*soulier, panier*).

[4] Fleury, *Hague*, pp. 32, 33. [5] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 220, 1°, γ.

[6] Fleury, *Hague*, pp. 32, 33.

[7] A result similar to the one mentioned by Schwan in his *Gram.*, § 86.

[8] A like reduction is seen in *ameti* (amêti): *AMICITATEM and *piti* (piti) PIETATEM. [9] V. § 4, 2.

somewhat related to that of *i*, they would strengthen the action of this vowel on the following *e* in the combination *i·e′* (or *je*), and the final result would inevitably be the fall or, rather, absorption of *e*.

(5) This reduced stage *i* cannot interchange, in Guernsey, with *je*, as Eggert seems to imply:[1] the forms that have *je*, never have *i*, and those with *i*, never have *je*. The product *i*, and also *ie*, from Latin -ATEM, -ATAM, is found in the Anglo-Norman of the 14th century, and even when no palatal precedes.[2] In the modern dialects, this result is heard in the Bessin,[3] whereas the Hague has *ïei* only.[4]

§ 5.— *a′* + secondary *j*.

(1) When *a′* is followed by a secondary *j* the two sounds combine to form the diphthong *a′i·*.[5] Examples: *ai·g* (aïgue): *ADJUTARE, *gai·n* (gaïne): VAGINAM, *hai·n* (haïne): Frankish HATJAN, *kai·* (quaït): CADET,[6] *mai·* (maïs): MAGIS, *pai·* (pâïs): PAGENSEM, *sai·* (saït): SAPIT, *vai·* (vaïs): VADEO.

(2) In French proper, *ai* had given *əi* before the 12th century, becoming, later, *ə*.[7]

§ 6.— *k* (*g* or *j*) + *a′* + final nasal.

In this position, *a′* is simply nasalized, with no other change of quality. Examples: *doi·a*^{n} (doyen): DECANUM, *moi·a*^{n} (moyen): MEDIANUM, *pai·a*^{n} (paien): PAGANUM, *tʃa*^{n} (tchen): CANEM. When compared with the change of *a′* +

[1] *Norm. Mund.*, pp. 375–6.

[2] Busch, *Ang.-Norm.*, p. 65.

[3] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 220, 1°, γ.

[4] Fleury, *Hague*, pp. 32, 33.

[5] This same diphthong is the result of *a′* + mouillé cons., as in *batai·ʌ* (bataille): BATALIAM, etc. The form *fai·f* (faïsshe): FACIAM should be noted, and also *pljai·ñ* (pllaïgnent): PLANGUNT, with *krai·ñ* (craïgnent): TREMUNT.

[6] CADET gives also the form *ki·e* or *kje* (quïet).

[7] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 43.

final nasal into $a\partial^n$ ($v\partial^n$ or ∂^n),[1] this development into a^n may be considered exceptional; $\int$ and j (or $i\cdot$), requiring a forward position of the tongue, as does also ∂^n, may thus prevent the change into $a\partial^n$, i. e., ∂^n would be dropped in order to avoid the effect of two forward sounds so near each other. A different explanation of this result is given further on.[2]

II.— *a′ in closed syllable.*

§ 7.— *a′* + oral cons. + cons.

In this position, *a′* remains without change. Examples: *gra* (grâs): CRASSUM, *ku·ara:ʒ* (couarage): CORAGIUM, *pa* (pâs): PASSUM, *vak* (vaque): VACCAM, *val* (val): VALLUM, etc.

§ 8.— *k* + *a′* + oral cons. + cons.

This combination forms no exception to the rule just given; *a′* remains. Examples: *ka* (ca'): CATTUM, *kart* (carte): CHARTAN, *∫arm* (charme): CARMEN, etc.

§ 9.— *-arium, -ariam.*

As a résumé of the discussion on these endings is given by Suchier,[3] there is no need of dwelling upon it here. The result, in our patois, is *-i·e′(r)* and *-e*. The examples are *dɔ̃ʒi·e* (dàngier): *DOMINIARIUM, *məni·er* (mennière): MANUARIAM, *prümi·e* (prumier): PRIMARIUM, *rivi·er* (rivière): *RIPARIAM, and, for the product *e*, *pane* (panné): PANARIUM, *sole* (solé): SOLARIUM. For the reduction of *i·e′* to *e*, in the last examples, there seems to be no perfectly satisfactory explanation.[4]

[1] V. § 3. [2] V. § 37, 2. [3] V. *Franç.*, p. 27.

[4] Cf. this phenomenon with the change of intervocalic λ into *l*, § 153, 1, and of intervocalic *ñ* into *n*, § 166. The reduction of the diphthong *ie* is an Anglo-Norman characteristic, cf. § 4, p. 20, NOTE 3.

§ 10.— a' + cons. + j.

Three peculiar products must be mentioned here: *fra:z* (frâse): *FRASEAM, *pljef* (pllèche): PLATEAM and *mnif* (m'niche): *MINACIAM. *fra:z* (frase) may have developed from an etymon having a' + cons. + cons., the second consonant not being an j, or the diphthong $a'i$· may have existed in this word formerly, the i· being absorbed later by the forward consonant z.[1]

§ 11.— a' + k + cons.

This combination is noted in two words: *lə* (lait): LACTEM and *lərm* (lerme): LACRIMAM; the former is the same as in French proper, the latter comes from an older form *lairme*.[2]

§ 12.— a' + nasal + cons.

The result is $ɒ^n$. Examples: $v^npjë$ (àmplle): AMPLUM, $avɒ^nʃ$ (avànche): AB + *ANTIAM, $brɒ^nk$ (brânque): BRANCAM, $efɒ^n$ (éfânt): INFANTEM, $grɒ^n$ (grând): GRANDEM, $hɒ^nk$ (hânque): ANCAM, $kɒ^n$ (quânt): QUANTUM, $tɒ^n$ (tânt): TANTUM.

§ 13.— k + a' + nasal + cons.

A new division need scarcely be made for this combination, since the result is the same as when a k does not precede the a'. Examples: $kɒ^n$ (câmp): CAMPUM, $ʃɒ^n$ (chânt): CANTUM, $ʃɒ^nbr$ (châmbre): CAMERAM, $ʃɒ^nt$ (chânte): CANTAT.

[1] Cf. *fráise, bráise* in Fleury, *Hague*, p. 16.

[2] V. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 235, § 257; cf. also Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 43, and Paris, *Alexis*, pp. 38 and 73. The k may have had some influence on the preceding a' in *mərk* (merque): Germ. MARK; it is well, however, in this connection, to remember the frequent interchange of a and $ə$ before r.

e

I.— *e′ in open syllable.*

§ 14.— *e′* + oral cons. + voc.,
e′ + mute + liquid.

(1) One of the results of *e′*, in this position, is *e*, or, under the influence of a following *l* or *r*, *ə*;[1] there is absolutely no trace of an *i*-sound after this *e*. Examples: *ber* (beire): BIBERE, *burʒe* (bourgeais): BURGENSEM, *dsəsper* (d'sesper):[2] SPERARE, *əfre* (effré): *EFFRIDARE, *etel* (éteile): STELAM, *fe* (fé): FIDEM, *krer* (craire): CREDERE, *me* (mé, mei): ME, *me* (meis): MENSEM, *pare* (paret): *PARETEM, *parfe* (parfeis): VICEM, *pe* (peis): *PISUM, *pevr* (peivre): PIPER, *se* (seit): SEAT, *se* (set): SITIM, *se:* (seie): SETAM, *tel* (teile): TELAM, *tre* (treis): TRES, *ve:* (veie): VIAM, *vel* (veile): VELAM. For the influence of *l* and *r*, we have *avər* (aver): HABERE, *dvər* (d'ver): DEBERE, *fjə′bljë* (fièblle): FLEBILEM, *lətr* (lettre): LITTERAM, *mətr* (mettre): MITTERE, *nər* (ner): NIGRUM, *pəl* (pel): PILUM, *pər* (père): PIRUM, *savər* (saver): *SAPERE, *sər* (ser): SERUM, *vər* (ver): VIDERE, *vər* (vère): VERUM.

(2) Whenever the final *r* is dropped in the pronunciation of *sər* (ser), the *e* becomes closed, as in the expression *asese* (à cé sé), equivalent to the French "*ce soir.*" Attention should be called to the accented stems[3] in the present indicative of the four verbs from CREDERE, BIBERE, DEBERE, VIDERE. The first and last verbs are perfectly regular, and have *e* in all of these four persons: *kre* (creis), *kre* (creis), *kre* (creit), *kre:* (creient); *ve* (veis), *ve* (veis), *ve* (veit), *ve:* (veient); not so, however, with the other two, which have *ə* in the first

[1] *e* + *l* (or *r*) + voc. does not always become *ə*: it may remain *e*; *e*, however, gives *ə* only when followed by *l* or *r*.

[2] *desəsper* (désesper) and *msəsper* (m'sesper) are also heard. Although of no consequence, it might be observed that some Guernsey writers spell all the examples given above with *ai*, instead of *ei*.

[3] These include the three persons of the singular, and the third person plural.

and second persons singular and lengthen it, but make no change in the quantity of the third person plural: *bə:* (beis), *bə:* (beis), *be* (beit), *bev* (beivent); *də:* (deis), *də:* (deis), *de* (deit), *dev* (deivent). May not the length of the first two persons be owing to the influence of the following *s* (originally in the second person only), which has since dropped?

(3) At the beginning of this paragraph, it was stated that no *i*-sound was heard after the *e* in an open syllable, and it is to be noticed that this statement holds true even when *e′* is followed by a *k* in Latin, as in *a"plje* (emplié): IMPLICARE, *fe* (feis): VICEM. Eggert,[1] misled by the orthography, says that Latin Ē(Ĭ) gives *ei* in Guernsey, in such words as *seie* (:SETAM), *feis* (:FIDEM), *mei* (:ME), *veie* (:VIAM); the fact is that no *i*-sound is heard after *e* in these words. The spelling with *i* is no doubt due, at least with the Guernsey writers,[2] to the fact that these words, in French proper, are spelt with an *i*: *étoile*, *mois*, etc.

(4) This *e* is also met with as coming from Latin Ē + oral cons. in closed syllable,[3] and from Ē + *k* in closed syllable.[4] In French proper, Latin Ē first gave *ei*,[5] which became *oi* in the 13th century, and *oa* in Palsgrave's time (1530).[6] The Norman retained the diphthong *ei*,[7] which was reduced to *e* already in Old Anglo-Norman texts,[8] a reduction found in the Franco-Norman patois since the 16th century,[9] usually with a closed *e*; in the Hague, the diphthong *a′e·* is also heard.[10]

[1] Cf. Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 378: "In den Patois des Westens hat sich *ei* zum Theil noch erhalten;" he then cites the examples given above, and indicates them as coming from Guernsey.

[2] These writers especially are mentioned, since they have no orthographical traditions to follow, a statement that probably would not be true of authors on the continent.

[3] V. § 20. [4] V. § 21. [5] Suchier, *Franç.*, pp. 29 and 50.

[6] *Idem*, p. 53. [7] *Idem.*, pp. 50 and 82, 83.

[8] Suchier, *Reimp.*, p. xvii, 4; also Suchier, *St. Auban*, p. 3.

[9] Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 378; Joret, *Ext.*, pp. 109, 110; Joret, *Bessin*, p. 222, 1°; Fleury, *Hague*, p. 34.

[10] Cf. this diphthong *a′e·* with *a′i·* in Guernsey from *e′* + nasal (§ 17, 1) and *e′′* + *k* (§ 81).

In Guernsey, only the closed pronunciation is heard, which would separate this island from the Hague, but would bring it nearer to the Bessin.

(5) Another development of *e′* in open syllable is *u·e′*, as observed in the following examples: *bɔ̃ⁿsu·er* (bonsouair): SERUM, *dvu·er* (d'vouair): DEBERE, *əspu·er* (espouair): SPERARE, *fu·e* (foué): FIDEM, *kuvu·et* (couvouaite): *CUPIDITA, *lu·e* (louai): LEGEM, *manu·er* (manouair): MANERE, *patu·e* (patouais): √PAT, *përu·e:* (perouée): PRAEDEM, *puvu·er* (pouvouair): *POTERE, *ru·e* (rouai): REGEM, *rvu·er* (r'vouair): VIDERE, *savu·er* (savouair): *SAPERE, *su·e* (souet): SEAT, *su·e:* (souaie): SETAM, *sürkëru·e* (surkerouet): CRESCERE, *vu·e* (vouai): VIDES. We also have the two products *i·e′* and *œ* exemplified in a few words: *asi·e* (assié'): SEDERE, *muvi·e* (mouvier): MOVERE, *puvi·e* (pouvier): *POTERE, *vuli·e* (voulier): *VOLERE; and also *pœz* (peuse): PENSAT, *savœr* (saveur): *SAPERE.[1] This variety of result (*e, ə, u·e′, i·e′* and *œ*) is heard all over the island, and no single development is characteristic of any one Parish. As may be observed from the examples, *e* and *ə* are the most, and *œ* is the least, common of these products. A few words represent more than one development and, for the sake of ready reference, are tabulated as follows:

e, ə	u·e′	i·e′	œ
fe	*fu·e*	——	——
se	*su·e*	——	——
se:	*su·e:*	——	——
ve	*vu·e*	——	——
dvər	*dvu.er*	——	——
savər	*savu·er*	——	*savœr*
vər	*rvu·er*	——	——
——	*puvu·er*	*puvi·e*	——

The forms in the first column (under *e, ə*) are, by far, the most used, excepting the last four, which differ in development

[1] PERCIPUNT > *apœrf* (apeurchent), showing a like product.

according to the meaning: *dvər, savər, vər* being used as regular infinitives, and *dvu·er, savu·er, rvu·er, puvu·er* as substantives; for example, *tu vas l' ver, i' faut saver chunna,* but *ch'est ten d'vouair, au r'vouair.*

(6) *w·e′* represents the stage just before the Modern French *w·a.*[1] *œ* is common in the Eastern dialects of France[2] and is observed in *seu* (< SITIM), a word Meyer-Lübke considers curious,[3] because found in a Norman dialect.

§ 15.— *e′* + final vowel.

As differing from the general rule given in the last paragraph, attention should be called to four verbs which have *i:* in the third person singular of the present indicative: *a^{n}vi:* (envie): VIARE, *əfri:* (effrie): *EFFRIDARE, *nəti:* (nettie): NITIDUM, *ra^{n}vi:* (renvie): VIARE.[4]

§ 16.— *k* + *e′* + oral cons. + voc.

e′ here becomes *i.* Examples: *mərsi* (merci): MERCEDEM, *pjezi* (pllaîsi): PLACERE, *fir* (chire): CERAM. The result *i* presupposes an earlier stage *iei*(*jei*), as it does in French proper.[5]

§ 17.— *e′* + nasal + voc.

(1) *e′* > *a′i·*, a result similar to that of *a′* in this position.[6] Examples: *alai·n* (halaïne): ANHELARE, *avai·n* (avaïne): AVENAM, *dmai·n* (d'maïne): DOMINIUM, *krai·m* (craïme): *CREMA, *pai·n* (païne): POENAM, *vai·n* (vaïne): VENAM, *vərvai·n* (vervaïne): VERBENAM. This development may be influenced by that of *a′* (+ nasal + voc.) into *a′i·*, but it may also represent the Norman characteristic of changing *ei* into *ai,*[7] by which pro-

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 96, § 72.
[2] *Idem*, p. 100 ff.
[3] *Idem*, p. 99, § 74.
[4] Notice *purki* (pourqui): QUID.
[5] Cf. Schwan, *Gram.*, § 85.
[6] V. § 2, 1.
[7] V. § 1, 2.

cess could also be explained the forms *lai·zir* (laïsir): LICERE,[1] *pai·sɔ̃ⁿ* (païsson): PISCEM[2] and *mai·nti* (maïnti): MEDIETATEM.[3]

(2) *mœn* (meune): MINAT and its compounds *amœn* (ameune), *dmœn* (d'meune), *purmœn* (pourmeune) form exceptions to the rule, the labial *m* having rounded the following *e*.

§ 18.— *e'* + final nasal.

(1) *e'* > *a'əⁿ*, for which the pronunciation in the different Parishes of Guernsey varies in the same way as for *a'əⁿ* < *a'* + final nasal.[4] Examples: *fraəⁿ* (frain): FRENUM, *pljaəⁿ* (pllain): PLENUM, etc.

(2) MINUS gives three results: *maəⁿ* (maens), *mu·aⁿ* (mouens), *mu·aəⁿ* (mouaens); according to Schwan,[5] this development comes from the Eastern dialects.

§ 19.— *k* + *e'* + final nasal.

The product is *əⁿ*. Examples: *pu·afəⁿ* (pouasshin): PULLICENUM, *rezəⁿ* (raisin): RACENUM.

II.— *e' in closed syllable.*

§ 20.— *e'* + oral cons. + cons.

We have here two results, one where *e* remains, the other where it becomes *ə*. Eggert[6] states that in the Norman dialects Latin Ē(Ĭ) in closed syllable usually gives *e*, sometimes *ei*, but he does not mention whether this *e* is closed or open, or both. Examples: for *e*, *əvek* (évêque): EPISCOPUM, *mem* (mîme): METIPSIMUM, *mereλ* (méreille): MIRABILIA, *ne:* (née): NIVICARE. For *ə*, *aⁿsəñ* (ensìgne): INSIGNAT, *kɔ̃ⁿsəl* (consel): CONSILIUM, *vərg* (vergues): VIRGAS. *ə*, as heard in the second list of examples just given, is doubtless a later development of *e*.[7]

[1] V. § 81.
[2] V. § 85.
[3] V. § 89.
[4] V. § 3, 1.
[5] *Gram.*, § 86, Anm.
[6] *Norm. Mund.*, p. 380.
[7] Cf. Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 50, § 19.

§ 21.— $e' + k +$ cons.

We have here the single result *e*. Examples: *aⁿdre* (endrait): IN + DIRECTUM, *de* (daigt): DIGITUM, *detr* (deître): DEXTRAM, *dre* (dret): DIRECTUM, *əsplje* (espllait): EXPLICITUM, *ɔrte* (ortet): ARTICULUM. *raiˑn* (raïne): REGINAM is an exception, and may have been formed by analogy to such words as *alaiˑn* (halaïne): ANHELARE, *paiˑn* (païne): POENAM, etc., where *e* is in open syllable.[1]

§ 22.— $e' + lj$.

Two examples of verbs in the third person singular have been found, showing the result *i*: *eviλ* (éville): *EXVIGILIAT, *kɔⁿsiλ* (consille): *CONSILIAT. The pronunciation of λ has no doubt drawn the tongue further forward and higher in the mouth, with the effect of changing the mid-vowel *e* into the high-vowel *i*.

§ 23.— $e' +$ nasal + cons.

$e' > a^n$, a result that separates it from $a' +$ nasal in closed syllable, which becomes $ɔ^n$.[2] Examples: a^n (en): INDE, $a^n tr$ (entre): INTRAT, *faⁿdr* (fendre): FINDERE, *praⁿdr* (prendre): PREHENDERE, *suvaⁿ* (souvent): SUBINDE, and, finally, all adverbs ending in *-maⁿ* (-ment): MENTE, which are generally treated, in Romance languages, as if from Latin Ē.

ə.

I.— *ə′ in open syllable.*

§ 24.— $ə' +$ oral cons. + voc.,
$ə' +$ mute + liquid.

(1) The result is generally *iə′*, a form that is older than the Modern French *ie*. Examples: *fiər* (fier): FERUM, *iər* (hier): HERE, *miəl* (miel): MEL;[3] *fiəvr* (fièvre): FEBREM, *liəvr*

[1] V. § 17, 1. [2] V. § 12. [3] Cf. also *bir*(bire): M. H. G. BIER.

(lièvre): LEPOREM, *piər* (pierre): PETRAM. A closed *e* is heard in *fiel* (fieil): FEL, *siel* (cieil): CAELUM.

(2) These same products (*iə′* and *ie′*) are also found under other headings.[1] In Modern French the pronunciation varies according to position.[2] In the Hague patois this *e* is open,[3] but it is closed in that of the Bessin.[4] Guernsey shows the same rule as French proper, excepting in *fiel* (fieil), *siel* (cieil), in *sieʒ* (siège)[5] and in the result from the -ARIAM termination (> *-ie′r*),[6] where, according to the French rule, the *e* should be open, preceding as it does a pronounced consonant. We find no traces, in Guernsey, of the Anglo-Norman reduction of *ie* to *e*, and sometimes to *i*,[7] excepting perhaps in the word *pi* (pid): PEDEM, and in *amiljorasjɔ̃* (amiliorâtion), etc.,[8] where *ə* is subtonic. In *pi* (pid), however, the diphthong *iə′* may have been reduced to *i* because of the frequent atonic position of this word.

(3) In a few forms, *ə* > *œ* under the influence of a labial, either following or preceding: *ku·œr* (queure): QUAERERE, *lœv* (leuve): LEVAT and its compounds *elœv* (eleuve), *rlœv* (r'leuve).

§ 25.— *ə′* + *k* (or *g*) + voc.

(1) The development of *ə′* into *i*, in this position, is similar to that of *ə′* (+ *k* + voc.) in French proper. Examples: *dis* (dix): DECEM, *pri:* (prie): PRECAT, etc. There are however exceptions, in which *ə′* (+ *g*) > *iə′*, as if no *g* followed: *ɑ̃piər* (empière): IMPEJORAT, *liər* (lière): LEGERE, *piər* (pière): *PEJOREM, and for which a reasonable explanation would be that they were influenced by such words as *siər* (sière): SEQUERE.[9]

[1] V. § 30, 1, and also the terminations -ARIUM, -ARIAM, § 9.
[2] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 55. [3] Fleury, *Hague*, p. 35.
[4] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 222, 2°. [5] V. § 30, 1, γ. [6] V. § 9.
[7] Suchier, *Reimp.*, p. xvi, 1; Görlich, *Mak.*, p. xliii, and Busch, *Ang.-Norm.*, pp. 33, 34. V., however, § 4, p. 20, NOTE 3.
[8] V. § 89; compare these forms with words such as *primer*, *Alisandre* found in Anglo-Norman texts (Görlich, *Mak.*, p. xlv).
[9] V. § 32.

(2) We have just seen that $ə' + k > i$ or $iə'$; we shall also find the product ie'.[1] In Old and Modern French, $ə'$ in these cases develops into *ie*, which, with a following *i*, is reduced to *i*.[2] In the modern Norman patois, the result varies. Eggert[3] gives the following table for the Manche, which can be compared with the results in Guernsey:

$$ĕ + i — iei \begin{cases} i'ei — ie \text{ (North Manche)}, \\ ie'i \begin{cases} e'i — ə \text{ (Avranchin)}, \\ ie' \text{ (South Cotentin)}. \end{cases} \end{cases}$$

Joret[4] shows that the modern Norman dialects can be divided into two sections: those of the East, which agree with Modern French in having *i*, and those of the West, where *ié* (or *iè*) is usually the result. We can thus see that our development is similar to that in the whole of the Manche, but especially to that in the Hague; our patois is, however, separated from the latter in the development of *viər* (vier): VECULUM and *liər* (lière).[5] Our result *mü* (mûx): MELIUS is, however, very similar to *mûěs* of the Hague.[6]

§ 26.— $ə'$ + final nasal.

$ə'$ changes into $jaⁿ$. Examples: $bjaⁿ$[7] (bien): BENE, $mjaⁿ$ (mien): MEUM,[8] $rjaⁿ$ (rien): REM, $tjaⁿ$ (tien): *TEUM,[8] $tjaⁿ$ (tient): TENET, $vjaⁿ$ (vient): VENIT. $ə'$ is drawn back to *a* because of the nasalization, but it is not certain whether this is what Romdahl[9] means by the "gutturalization" of the

[1] Cf. §§ 30 and 31.
[2] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 30.
[3] *Norm. Mund.*, pp. 371, 372.
[4] *Mélanges*, pp. xxiv, xxv and 55–57; cf. also Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 161, § 159.
[5] *vûěs* and *lûěre* in the Hague; v. Fleury, *Hague*, p. 35.
[6] Fleury, *Hague*. p. 35.
[7] I have occasionally heard the pronunciation $bjəⁿ$ or $bivəⁿ$.
[8] The feminine of $mjaⁿ$ and $tjaⁿ$ is *mja:n* (mienne) and *tja:n* (tienne)
[9] V. *Saire*, pp. 10 ff.

vowels. He writes that gutturalization and nasalization [1] are characteristics of the vowels of the Val de Saire; the question is whether he would say that *ə′* (+ nasal) in Guernsey was "gutturalized," a phenomenon that would point to some linguistic relation between these two places.

II.— *ə′ in closed syllable.*

§ 27.— *ə′* + oral cons. + cons.

(1) Just as we noted two results for *e′* in this position,[2] so we find that *ə′* becomes sometimes *e*, sometimes *ə*.[3] Examples: for *e*, *pel* (pel): PELLEM, *tet* (tête): TESTAM, *sitern* (citerne): CISTERNAM; for *ə*, *bəl* (bel):[4] BELLUM, *nuvəl* (nouvelle): NOVELLAM, *pərdr* (perdre): PERDERE.

(2) *dviər* (d'viers): VERSUS forms an exception, its *ə′* having developed as if it were in open syllable. The preceding labial consonant may have influenced the *ə* in *apœl* (appeule): APPELLAT and *rapœl* (rappeule), causing it to become *œ*.[5]

§ 28.— *-ellum.*

(1) This termination becomes *e*. Examples: *añe* (anié): ANELLUM, *furne* (fourné): FURNUM, *kute* (couté): CULTELLUM, *maⁿte* (manté): MANTELLUM, *marte* (marté): MARTELLUM, *morse* (morsé): *MORSELLUM, *purʃe* (pourché): PORCELLUM, *rnuve* (r'nouvé): RENOVELLUM, *rüse* (rusé): $\sqrt{\text{RU-}}$, *sərve* (cervé): CEREBELLUM, *ʃape* (chapé): CAPELLUM, *tu·are* (touarê): TAURUM, *tune* (tounné): O. H. G. TUNNA. In the plural, these words change *e* to *jo*, and we thus have *furnjo*, *kutjo*, *maⁿtjo*, etc.[6] The probable explanation of these results

[1] Cf. Joret, *Mélanges*, p. xvi. [2] V. § 20.

[3] Would it be better to state that *ə′* remains *ə*? Or does *ə′* first become *e*, which afterwards returns to the open pronunciation *ə*?

[4] Heard in the expression *iʃəbəl* (i' fait bel), for the French "*il fait beau.*"

[5] Cf. § 119 and NOTE.

[6] The plural *añe* is only an apparent exception, since it represents *añjo*, in which the *j* has been absorbed by the preceding *ñ*.

is that, in the singular -ELLUM, the *ə′* followed the law for *ə′* in closed syllable,[1] and therefore become *e*, the final *l* disappearing in the pronunciation, whereas, in the plural -ELLOS, *ə′l* (+ cons.) > *əal* > *əau* > *ia′u* > *i·o′* > *jo*.

(2) Two words form exceptions to this development, and have *jo* in the singular,[2] *jo:* in the plural: *bjo* (biau): BELLUM,[3] *vjo* (viau): VITELLUM, and, for the plural, *bjo:* (biaux), *vjo:* (viaux).

(3) Let us compare these developments, in the singular and the plural, with those in France and in Normandy. In Old French, the combination *əl* early became *eal* and *eau*[4] (*l* becoming vowelized before the 12th century);[5] *e*, before *au*, was mute by the 14th century,[6] and *au* was pronounced *o* in the 17th century.[7] Joret[8] has already so carefully examined the various results of -ELLUM in the modern Norman dialects, that nothing can be added. On comparison, we note that the Guernsey developments *-e*, *-jo* correspond to those of the Basse Normandie in the singular, and of Eastern Normandy in the plural, excepting for the two words *bjo* and *vjo* which represent, both for the singular and the plural, the same change as in the Eastern half of Normandy. This difference between Guernsey and that part of Normandy nearest to it, is very curious, but our patois probably represents, for this termination at least, the Old Norman dialect more correctly than do the other modern Norman patois, since, in the *Makkabäer*, *-el* is the direct product of -ELLUM, becoming *-eaus* however before the flectional *s*;[9] a further resemblance is observed in the development, in the *Makka-*

[1] V. § 27, 1.

[2] Cf. *pjo* (piau): PELLEM.

[3] Cf. *bi·otaï·* (biautaï).

[4] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 163–164.

[5] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 43; Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 231 and 329.

[6] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 51.

[7] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 53, where, however, the *e* is said to be retained, in the pronunciation of such words as *beau*, until the 17th century.

[8] *Ext.*, pp. 110–112; cf. Joret, *Bessin*, p. 222, 3°; Fleury, *Hague*, p. 35, and Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 164, § 163.

[9] Görlich, *Mak.*, pp. xv, xvi.

bäer, of BELLUM into *beau* (not *bel*), an exceptional form thus still preserved in the Guernsey *bjo* for the singular;[1] the singular *vjo* still remains unexplained, but it might be formed simply by analogy with *bjo*, since both words are monosyllabic.

§ 29.— *ə′* + nasal + cons.

(1) The change into a^n is the same as in French proper. Examples: *va*^{n} (vent): VENTUM, *va*^{n}*dr* (vendre): VENDERE, etc.

(2) *əksv*^{n}*pjë* (exàmplle): EXEMPLUM is an exception to this rule, but was also treated in Old Norman as if it had an *a′* (+ nasal + cons.).[2]

§ 30.— *ə′* + cons. + *j*.[3]

(1) The result is here fourfold, being *jə*, *je*, *ie′*, *i*, which represent four successive stages in the development of *ə′* (+ cons. + *j*). The following examples, in the order respectively of the products just noted, were found:

(*α*) *kjəd* (quiède): TEPIDUM, *njəʃ*[4] (nièche): *NEPTIAM, *rmjəd*[5] (r'mième): REMEDIUM.

(*β*) *mekje* (méquier): MINISTERIUM.

(*γ*) *mie* (mié): MEDIUM, *sieʒ* (siège): SEDICUM.

(*δ*) *epis* (épice): *SPECIAM, *pri* (prix): PRETIUM, *ʃliz* (ch'lise): *CERESIAM.

(2) The differences in the first three sets are owing simply to the law of least action, or of naturalness: when *ə′* is final, it is likely to become closed, as in *mekje* and *mie*, and under the influence of a preceding *k*, *i* would tend to be consonant-

[1] Cf. Uhlemann, *La Conception und St. Nicholas*, p. 76, § 37, 1.

[2] Cf. Suchier, *Reimp.*, p. 71: "Zu diesen Worten" (words with *en*) "kommt EXEMPLUM, welches im Normannischen stets *a* hat;" also Görlich, *Mak.*, p. xvi, 26, and Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 110, § 90.

[3] For convenience sake, some examples are given under this heading, which do not strictly belong here.

[4] Or *niəʃ*.

[5] Or *rmi·əd*, or even *rmi·ed*.

ized, as is seen in *kjəd* and *mekje*. *epis* probably comes directly from French proper; *pri* and *ʃliz* have the same development as in Modern French.[1]

§ 31.— *ə′* + *k* + cons.

The result is *ie′*. Examples: *depie* (dépiet): DESPECTUM and *lie*[2] (liet): LECTUM.[3]

§ 32.— *ə′* + *qu*.

The only word with this combination is *siər* (sière): SEQUERE, and its derivative *siet* (siète).

i

I.— *i′ in open syllable.*

§ 33.— *i′* + cons. + voc.

(1) The result here agrees with that in French proper, and need not be dwelt upon. Examples: *fi* (fi): FILUM, *livr* (livre): LIBRUM, *riv* (rive): RIPAM, *vnir* (v'nir): VENIRE, etc. This same result is observed in all the Norman dialects.[4]

(2) The Guernsey patois agrees with French proper also in the development of *i′* + final nasal, as in *fə̃* (fin): FINEM, *və̃* (vin): VINUM, etc.

§ 34.— *i′* + nasal + voc.

(1) The *i′* here becomes *e′i·*, but with a very weak *i*-sound.[5] Examples: *epei·n* (épîne): SPINAM, *frei·n* (f'rîne): FARINAM,

[1] V. Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 91, 2 and 92.

[2] The pronunciation *ljət* is frequently heard all over the island; the plural is *li:* (lits). TECTUM cannot help us here, as it has not given anything in Guernsey.

[3] Cf. the feminine *viel* (vielle): *VECULAM; under the influence of the *r*, from final *kl* (v. § 154, 2), we have the pronunciation *viər* (vier) in the masculine.

[4] Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 380; also Joret, *Bessin*, p. 223.

[5] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 62.

krei·m (crîme): CRIMEN, *mədʃei·n* (medchîne): MEDICINAM, *rafei·n* (rachîne): RADICINAM, *rei·m* (rîme): RIMAM, *ru·ei·n* (ruîne): RUINAM, *ʃei·m* (chîme): CYMAM.[1] In such words as these, the position of the tongue for the production of *i* has been lowered to that required by *e*, under the influence of the following nasal, whether dental or labial.

(2) The same development is seen with *i*, in closed syllable, in *abei·m* (abîme): ABISMUM.[2]

(3) In French, *i'* (+ nasal + voc.) remained a pure oral vowel because the nasalization of *i* into *ə*^{n} took place after the intervocalic *n* had any power to nasalize the preceding vowel.[3] In the Bessin, *i* before a nasal + voc. becomes *e*, but apparently without any following *i*-sound;[4] in the Val de Saire, it becomes *e* before *n* and *ei* before *m*.[5] In Guernsey, we have the result *e'i·* before both *n* and *m*.

§ 35.— final *i'*.

(1) Meyer-Lübke[6] notes that final *i'* is often pronounced open in the Hague; in Guernsey, on the contrary, it is always closed, as in *bërbi* (berbi): *BERBICEM, etc.

(2) The final *i'* is frequently nasalized in Norman patois, and in many other dialects, the result being such forms as *ami*^{n}, *veni*^{n}, etc.[7] In Guernsey, this nasalization is heard only in the following cases, as far as could be ascertained: *iʃə*^{n} (ichîn): ECCE + HIC, *kmə*^{n}*z*[8] (k'mînse) and *kmə*^{n}*zol*[8] (k'mînsole): CAMISIAM, *osə*^{n} (aussîn): $\sqrt{\text{AL}}$ + SIC, *ʃœ*^{n}*ʃə*^{n} (chunchîn):

[1] Métivier and Corbet both agree in representing this *e'i·* by *î*.

[2] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 68, where mention is made of a Norman form *abieme*.

[3] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 62, 63.

[4] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 223.

[5] Romdahl, *Saire*, glossary; Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 382.

[6] *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 67.

[7] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 66, § 40.

[8] In *kmə*^{n}*z* and *kmə*^{n}*zol*, *i* is not strictly final, nor even tonic in the latter example, but it is, however, at the end of a syllable.

ECCE + HOC.[1] The nasalized infinitives, like *veni*^{n}, and such words as *ami*^{n}, are never heard in Guernsey.

(3) This nasalization is sometimes heard in the Bessin[2] and in the Hague,[3] but it is not at all peculiar to these Norman dialects, since it occurs, as has just been mentioned, in other parts of the Romance field.

II.— *i′ in closed syllable.*

§ 36.— *i′* + oral cons. + cons.

Since *i′* is here treated as in Modern French, no especial attention need be called to these results. Examples: *i:l* (île): INSULAM, *tiʒ* (tige): TIBIAM, *vil* (ville): VILLAM, etc.

§ 37.— *i′* + nasal + cons.

(1) The development here into *ə*^{n} is the same as in French proper: *lə*^{n}*ʒ* (linge): LINEUM, etc.

(2) We have already noted the five results *a*^{n}, *ja*^{n}, *ɒ*^{n}, *a′ə*^{n}, *ə*^{n}, as coming from different combinations. The various products of the vowels *a*, *e*, and *i* + final nasal will be discussed first; these are *a*^{n} (< *k* + *a′* + final nasal) and the products *ja*^{n}, *a′ə*^{n} and *ə*^{n}. In French proper Latin A (+ final *m*, *n*) develops into *a*^{n}, except when preceded by a *k* or *j*,[4] and later into *e*^{n}, *ə*^{n};[5] the last two developments (*e*^{n} and *ə*^{n}) are the same as from *ə′* (+ final nasal).[6] In Guernsey, the result *a′ə*^{n} (*ɒ′ə*^{n} or *ə*^{n}), from *a* + final nasal, is the same as the French *a*^{n} > *e*^{n} > *ə*^{n}, whereas *a*^{n} (< *k* + *a* + final nasal) and *ja*^{n} (< *ə* + final

[1] Mention should be made here of *mai·nti′* (mainti): MEDIETATEM, noticed in § 89.

[2] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 223. [3] Fleury, *Hague*, p. 36.

[4] Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 77, 78; Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 29; Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 227, 228.

[5] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 54; Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 302 and 304.

[6] Schwan, *Gram.*, § 303.

nasal) correspond to the French *iə*^{n}; we shall see later that *e* (+ nasal + cons.) > *a*^{n},[1] and thus *ə*, when no *i*-sound followed, developed, in our patois, into *a*^{n}, without exception, so that in Guernsey the forms *moi·a*^{n} (moyen), *bja*^{n} (bien), etc., are regular, while the French pronunciation *mwajə*^{n}, *bjə*^{n}, etc., is exceptional.

(3) As to the product of *a* + final nasal, *ə*^{n} of the Lower Parishes is similar to the *ə*^{n} of French proper, whereas the *a'ə*^{n} (or *ɒ'ə*^{n}) represents the older French pronunciation *a*^{n}*i*; it is difficult to tell exactly which of the two vowels of the diphthong is nasalized, or whether both are not perhaps thus affected; the transcription *a*^{n}*'ə*^{n} (or *ɒ*^{n}*'ə*^{n}) may perhaps be better, as it is certainly older. But few data can be found for the Norman patois of the continent; in the Bessin, *ə* + final nasal > *iin*[2] (whatever may be the exact value of this transcription). Just one word now on the changes of *i* (+ final nasal), the same in Guernsey as in French proper;[3] *y*^{n} of the Hague[4] and *in* (= *ə*^{n}) of the Bessin[5] are related or, rather, similar results. The common pronunciation of the results from *e* (+ nasal + cons.) and from *ə'* and (*k* +) *a* (+ final nasal), is not noted in Old Norman MSS.,[6] but nothing accurate can be ascertained until more data are obtained both from the Old Norman MSS. and from the modern Norman patois.

(4) The preceding discussion leaves us free to consider now the *a*^{n} from *e'*, *e''*, *ə'*, *ə''*, and the *ɒ*^{n} from *a'*, (*k* +) *a'*, *a''*, when these vowels are in a closed syllable (= voc. + nasal + cons.).

[1] V. § 37, 4.

[2] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 222, 2°; cf. the examples *vie*^{n}*yne* and *tie*^{n}*yne* found in Fleury, *Hague*, p. 35.

[3] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 54; also Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 96 and 299.

[4] Fleury, *Hague*, p. 36.

[5] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 223, 1°.

[6] V., in the *Alexis*, *Eufemien: -ier*, 64, and *Eufemien: cristiens: -ier*, 68, where the *en* must have a distinct *e*-sound. Cf. also Suchier, *Reimp.*, p. xviii, 16; Görlich, *Mak.*, p. xvii, 33, and p. xliii.

(5) In French, *en* and *an* were confounded in pronunciation,[1] but in Norman, and especially in Anglo-Norman, these two sounds were kept separate.[2]

(6) As for the modern Norman patois, Suchier states that this distinction is still retained in the Val de Saire and the Perche;[3] the result, in the former locality, is transcribed *an* by Romdahl.[4] In Guernsey we also find a distinction, υ^n probably corresponding to the *an* just mentioned, but being a very difficult sound to transcribe accurately. Since *en* is pronounced a^n, as in French proper, a natural explanation of the present distinction, in Guernsey and the Val de Saire, would be, not that *an* and *en* were kept distinct in these two places, but that they were confounded, only later than in French, the υ^n of to-day being then a further development of the $a + n$, to distinguish it, perhaps, from the pronunciation of $e + n$ as a^n.[5]

(7) The only example of $e +$ nasal becoming υ^n is EXEMPLUM $>$ *əksʊ̃pjë* (exàmplle), which has already been explained.[6]

§ 38.— *gu* + *i′* + cons.

In *ʊ̃gül* (àngûle): ANGUILLAM,[7] *i′* has been rounded under the influence of the preceding *u* (or *w*), which itself disappears, but, as we see, not without having given its rounded quality to the previously unrounded *i′*.

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 110, 111; Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 81.

[2] Suchier, *Reimp.*, pp. 69–71; Görlich, *Mak.*, pp. xvi, 26, and xliv; Paris, *Alexis*, pp. 36, 37 and 82, 83; Koschwitz, *Karls Reise*, pp. xxvi–xxviii; Gautier, *Roland*, p. 416; Busch, *Ang.-Norm.*, pp. 12–14. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 227, § 245, for the Anglo-Norman *aun*, a result not found in Guernsey.

[3] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 81.

[4] Romdahl, *Saire*, pp. 11, 12.
Cf. Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 381.

[6] V. § 29, 2.

[7] Cf. a similar change in the word *süfjaï* (sufflaïr): SIBILARE, § 92, 2.

O′

I.— *o′ in open syllable.*

§ 39.— *o′* + oral cons. + voc.

(1) Of all the vowels in the Guernsey dialect, *o′* presents the greatest variety of developments, there being six results from this one vowel in open syllable: *œ*, *u*, *u·ɔ′*, *u·a′*, *a′u·* and *a′œ·*. The examples, which are not numerous, will be given first, arranged in the above order of results:

(*a*) *kulœr* (couleur): COLOREM, *mɔ̃ⁿʒœ* (màngeux): MANDUCATOREM, *priœ* (prieux): PRECARE.[1]

(*β*) *amur* (amour): AMOREM, *fljur* (fllour): FLOREM, *gul* (goule): GULAM, *ku:* (coue): CODAM, *kum* (coume): QUO + MODO.

(*γ*) *aku·ɔr*[2] (accouore): HORAM, *labu·ɔr*[2] (labouor): LABOREM.

(*δ*) *aku·ar*[2] (accouare): HORAM, *labu·ar*[2] (labouar): LABOREM.

(*ϵ*) *ʃau·* (chaou): COLEM.[3]

(*ζ*) *aœ·r* (haeure): HORAM, *daœ·* (daeux): DUOS, *miljaœ·* (millaeux): MELIOREM, *naœ·* (naeud): NODUM, *nvaœ·* (n'vaeu): NEPOTEM, *saœ·* (saeu): SOLUM, also adjectives ending in *-aœ·* (-aeux): -OSUM: *aⁿviaœ·* (enviaeux), *famaœ·* (famaeux), *küriaœ·* (curiaeux), *melodiaœ·* (mélodiaeux), *pœraœ·* (peuraeux), *œraœ·* (heuraeux), etc.[4]

(2) A scheme for the successive developments from Latin ō will now be given,[5] the results found in Guernsey being all printed in Italics:

[1] In two words, where the French has *œ*, the Guernsey patois has *ü: bljü* (bllû): Germ. BLAW and the plural *mesjü* (mêssiûx): SENIORES.

[2] *u·ɔ′* is heard in the Lower Parishes, whereas *u·a′* is the pronunciation of the Upper Parishes.

[3] Cf. also *kau·* (caoup): COLAPHUM.

[4] Cf. also *kvaœ·* (k'vaeu): CAPILLUM. The *a* of *a′œ·*, in all the above examples, is not very broad, and is sometimes pronounced almost *ɒ* (= *ɒ′œ·*).

[5] For a discussion of *o*, v. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 132–137.

$$o > o'u\cdot{}^{1} \begin{cases} > e'u\cdot > \text{œ} > a'\text{œ}\cdot \\ > u > u'\text{ɔ} > u\cdot\text{ɔ}' > u'a\cdot \\ > \text{ɔ}'u\cdot{}^{2} > \mathring{a}'u^{3} > a'u\cdot \end{cases}$$

(3) *o′* first diphthongizes into *o′u·* from which the separate developments spring:

(*a*) *o* of the diphthong *o′u·* is unrounded and pushed forward to *e*, and then this *e′u·* is reduced to *œ*, which is afterwards diphthongized into *a′œ*.

(*β*) Here, *o′u·* becomes the single sound *u*, which is then diphthongized into *u′ɔ*; the accent is shifted forward, and, through differentiation, the *u·ɔ′* becomes *u·a′*, in which the *ɔ* has been unrounded.

(*γ*) Or *o′u·* gives *ɔ′u·*, in which the *ɔ* becomes slightly unrounded to *å* and afterwards still more so, the diphthong changing to *a′u·*. These last two diphthongs (*å′u·* and *a′u·*), and especially the latter, which is heard in Guernsey, may come directly from *u* of the second series, as *a′œ* from *œ*.

(4) We have just noted, in Guernsey, six results from Latin ō; there are, in all, eight (from *o′* and *o″* not followed by a *k* or *j*): *o′u·*, *œ*, *a′œ·*, *u*, *u·ɔ′*, *u·a′*, *ɔ′u·* and *a′u·*.

(5) In French proper, *ou* > *eu* in the 12th century, and the termination *-eur* was extended Westward, as far as Guernsey,[4] where *œ* is heard even in *nœf* (neuches) and *ʒœr* (jeur), and in the ending *-a′œ·* (:-OSUM). In the Anglo-Norman, this termination already existed by the 14th century.[5] For the other examples, where *o* is before an *r* or *l*[6] (excepting the above ending), our patois either has *u* or diphthongizes *o* into *u·ɔ′*, *u·a′* or *a′u·*. For the Bessin[7] and the Hague,[8] the results are the same as in Guernsey.

[1] A stage observed in *sou·m* (soumme): SUMMUM, § 48.

[2] This result is seen with *o′* in closed syllable in *drɔu·l* (droule): Germ. DROLL-, § 43, δ.

[3] This pronunciation is sometimes heard in *sâu·m* or *sâo·m* (saomme) instead of *sou·m* of NOTE 1.

[4] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 85.

[5] Busch, *Ang.-Norm.*, p. 23, II.

[6] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 133, § 121.

[7] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 224.

[8] Fleury, *Hague*, p. 37.

§ 40.— *o′* + *k* + voc.

(1) In this position, *k* becomes *i*, and the result is *o′i·*, or *u′i·*, in which the *i*, being itself an unrounded vowel, causes the lips to separate a little before the *o* or *u* is completed, an *a* being thus introduced: *u′ai·*; the accent is then naturally pushed forward with the result *ua′i·*,[1] as heard in *nuai·* (nouaïx): NUCEM. Or *i*, instead of introducing the vowel *a*, as just suggested, may itself be influenced by the preceding *u* and be drawn downward and slightly backward, giving *e*,[2] as in *kru·e* (crouaix): CRUCEM, *vu·e* (vouaix): VOCEM.

(2) In French proper, *o* forms a diphthong with the following *i*, and eventually is pronounced *wa*, just as the *oi* from Latin Ē.[3] The Guernsey results[4] correspond to the French pronunciation *oe* or *ɔə′* of the 13th century.[5]

§ 41.— *o′* + nasal + voc.

(1) The results of this combination vary, sometimes being *ɔ*, as in French proper, but usually *u*: *dɔn* (donne): DONAT, but *gënun* (guenoune): O. H. G. WINJÂ, *kurun* (courounne): CORONAM, *miñjun* (mignioune): Celtic √MIN-, *pɔrsun* (persounne): PERSONAM, *piʒun* (pigeoune): PIPIONEM, *pum* (poume): POMAM.

(2) Before a nasal, *o* did not develop into *ou* and *eu* in French proper.[6] Palsgrave,[7] however, states that *om* was pronounced with an *u*-sound between *o* and the following nasal, and it is thus that *sou·m* (soumme) is now heard in Guernsey.[8] In the Old Norman dialect, on the other hand,

[1] For a similar development, cf. *o′* + *k* + cons., § 44, and *o″* + *k* + voc., § 94.

[2] A like result is gotten from the termination -ŏRIAM, § 46.

[3] Schwan, *Gram.*, § 284.

[4] Beside § 40, 1, and NOTE 2 and § 45, v., for *au*, §§ 71 and 72; also the result *üe″* from *a″u*, §§ 114 and 116.

[5] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 50; Schwan, *Gram.*, § 285, 3.

[6] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 82.

[7] *Eclaircissement de la langue françoise*, p. 7, V.

[8] V. § 48; cf. also *drɔu·l* (droule), § 43, δ.

$o > u$ before nasals,[1] and it is this result which is still retained in Guernsey, as well as in the Hague,[2] but apparently not in the Bessin.[3]

§ 42.— o' + final nasal.

(1) The result is $ɔ^n$. Examples: *burdɔ*^{n} [4] (bourdon): BURDONEM, *dɔ*^{n} (don): DONUM, *mezɔ*^{n} (maison): MANSIONEM, *nɔ*^{n} (nom): NOMEN, etc.

(2) This Guernsey product is exactly similar to the one in French proper,[5] and also in the Bessin.[6] In the Old Norman, *o* in this position gave *u*,[7] which, however, began to develop into *ou* and *o* by the 14th century.[8]

II.— *o′ in closed syllable.*

§ 43.— o' + oral cons. + cons.

The results here are the same as for o' + oral cons. in open syllable,[9] and the physiological explanations must, therefore, be the same. Examples:[10]

(α) for *o*, *krot* (craûte): CRUSTAM.

(β) for *u·a′*,[11] *fu·ar* (fouar): FURNUM, *ru·aʒ* (rouage): RUBEUM.

(γ) for *œ*, *kœr* (cueurt): CURRIT, *ʒœr* (jeur): DIURNUM.[12]

(δ) for *o′u·*, *drɔu·l* (droule): Germ. DROLL-.

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 140, 141.

[2] Fleury, *Hague*, p. 37.

[3] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 224, 1°, *a*.

[4] I have heard Mr. Guilbert (v. Introduction) pronounce this word *burdan*^{n} (or perhaps simply *burdɑ*^{n}).

[5] Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 100, 1, and 133.

[6] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 224, 1°, *a*. [7] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 140.

[8] Busch, *Ang.-Norm.*, pp. 24, 25. [9] V. § 39.

[10] Notice the peculiar form *fu·idr* (fouîdre): FULGUR.

[11] Cf. *ivëru·añ* (iverouagne): *EBRONIUM, *karu·añ* (carouagne): *CARONIAM, and also *tu·ar* (touar) and *detu·ar* (détouar): TORNUM.

[12] To this list belong the words with the -ORIUM termination (>œ), § 47, 1. Cf. also *nœf* (neuches): *NOVTIAS and *rprœf* (r'preuche): *REPROBICARE.

§ 44.— $o' + k +$ cons.

The only example found, *ʒnuai·* (genouaï): *GENUCLUM, presents a change similar to that of $o' + k +$ voc. in the word *nuai·* (nouaïx): NUCEM.[1]

§ 45.— $o' +$ cons. $+ j$.[2]

The product is *u·e'*, the same as for $o' + k$ in open syllable.[3] Examples: *ku·ef* (couaiffe): O. H. G. KUPPHJA, *pivu·en* (pivouaine): PAEONIAM.[4]

§ 46.— *-ŏ̆riam.*[5]

The result *u·e'* has already been examined.[6] Examples: *glu·er* (glouère): GLORIAM,[7] *istu·er* (histouaire): HISTORIAM, *memu·er* (mémouaire): MEMORIAM, *viktu·er* (victouaire): VICTORIAM.

§ 47.— *-orium.*

(1) In the following three words, this termination is treated as if no *j* followed the *r*, and it thus becomes *œ*,[8] since final *r* falls regularly in such cases:[9] *mirœ* (mireux): *MIRATORIUM, *muſœ* (moucheux): *MUCCARE, *prə̃sœ* (prînseux): PRESSORIUM. These words may perhaps come directly from etyma with an -OREM ending, as MIRATOREM[10] and MUCOREM,[11] an

[1] V. § 40, 1, where the development into *ua'i·* is explained. The plural is *ʒnu·a:* (genouâ). Cf. the word *bëruai·s* (berouaïsse): Celtic √BRUXON-.

[2] Cf. -ORIAM, § 46, and -ORIUM, § 47, 2.

[3] V. § 40, 1.

[4] Notice *ɔrge* (orgué): Germ. URGOLI.

[5] The two endings -ŌRIAM and -ORIAM are treated together because their results are identical; in French proper, these examples are learned (v. Schwan, *Gram.*, § 260, 2, Anm. 2); cf. the -ORIUM termination, § 47.

[6] V. § 40, 1.

[7] Cf. also *sə̃ᵘmaʌjer* (St. Maglière), the name of one of the oldest churches in Guernsey.

[8] V. § 39, 1, *a*.

[9] V. § 159.

[10] Körting, *Wört.*, No. 5329.

[11] Körting, *Wört.*, No. 5445.

unlikely supposition, however, on account of the change in meaning which would then have taken place.

(2) The second result of the same ending is *u·e′*, the regular development, as we have just seen,[1] but it is probable that all such examples have been taken, by the persons using them, directly from French proper, the *wa* having been changed to *u·e′* in order to give the word an appearance of belonging to the patois, the French *vwa* (voix), for instance, being, in Guernsey, *vu·e* (vouaix). Examples: *dɔrmitu·er* (dormitouaire), *ekritu·er* (écritouaire), *kɔ̃ⁿsistu·er* (consistouaire), *maʃu·er* (mâchouaire), etc.

§ 48.— *o′* + nasal + nasal + voc.

sou·m (soumme):[2] SUMMUM represents the first stage in the development of *o*, according to the scheme already mentioned.[3] The usual Guernsey development is seen in *otum* (autumne): AUTUMNUM.

§ 49.— *o′* + nasal + cons.

The change is the same as in French proper: *ɔ̃ⁿbr* (ombre): UMBRAM, *ɔ̃ⁿglj̈ë* (onglle): UNGULAM, etc.

§ 50.— *o′* + nasal + *j*.

(1) Two results are noted: *ua′ə̃ⁿ* and *u·i′*, the former being the regular development and virtually a nasalized *ua′i·*, which was seen to be the product of *o′* when under the influence of a following *k* or *j*;[4] *ua′ə̃ⁿ* corresponds to the French *wə̃ⁿ*. Examples:[5] *kuɑə̃ⁿ* (couain): CUNEUM, *puaə̃ⁿ* (pouaing): PUG-

[1] V. §§ 45 and 46.

[2] This word is sometimes pronounced *sao·m* (saomme), and also *sum* (soumme); cf. also § 39, p. 41, NOTE 3.

[3] V. § 39, 2, also Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 135.

[4] V. § 40, 1.

[5] This list of examples includes all words in which the *n* has been affected by either a preceding or a following *j*.

NUM, *puaə*^{n} (pouaint): *PUNCTUM, *temuaə*^{n} (témouain): TESTIMONIUM.[1]

(2) *u·i′*, the second result mentioned above, is observed only in *pu·i* (pouit), which, with *puaə*^{n} (pouaint), has *PUNCTUM as etymon. This form may be owing to its frequent proclitic position.

§ 51.— *juvenem.*[2]

A peculiar development is seen in *ʒan*[3] (janne): JUVENEM. It would naturally be expected that the dento-labial *v* should keep the *o* intact, not allowing it to lose its rounded quality; but, no doubt, *o′* became *a* after the assimilation of *v* to *n*.[4]

ɔ

I.— *ɔ′ in open syllable.*

§ 52.— *ɔ′* + oral cons. + voc.

(1) This development need only be mentioned, as it is similar to that in French proper. Examples: *kjœr* (cueur): COR, *mœ* (meut): MOVET, *nœ* (neû): NOVUM, etc.[5] With some Guernseymen, there is a tendency toward the diphthong *a′œ·*, instead of *œ*.

(2) A different result from that in French, but still regular, is seen in *rœ:* (reue): ROTAM.[6]

§ 53.— *ɔ′* + *k* + voc.

(1) The result is twofold: *ü·i′* and *i·e′*; only two examples could be found, but this inconvenience is lessened by there

[1] Cf. *bëzuaə*^{n} (besouain): *SONIUM; this word, and also *temuaə*^{n} (témouain), are sometimes pronounced *bëzu·a*^{n} (besouen), *temu·a*^{n} (témouen). In all the above examples, some Guernsey people pronounce *-u·ə*^{n}, instead of *-ua′ə*^{n}.

[2] Strictly, this word should come under *ɔ′*; cf. also *ʒanəs* (jannesse).

[3] I have also heard this word pronounced with a very low *a*, somewhat rounded.

[4] Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 159 and 170.

[5] Cf. *rpræf* (r'preuche): *REPROPIARE.

[6] *ru:* (roue) is also used in Guernsey. Cf. also *tœrdr* (teurdre): *TORQUERE.

being several illustrations of *ɔ′* (+ *k* + cons.),[1] where the products are the same as here. We have *kü·i* (tuit): COQUIT and *ni·e* or *nje* (niet): NOCET.

(2) *ü·i′* is the reduction of the triphthong *uoi*, as in French proper.

§ 54.— *-ocum.*

(1) This termination has three different results in Guernsey: *i*, *jü* and *a′œ·*. In *miλi* (milli): LOCUM and *ʒi* (jî): JOCUM we observe the first product; the second is seen in *ljü* (llu): LOCUM, and the third in *faœ·* or *fɒœ·* (faeu): FOCUM.

(2) In the present state of philological knowledge, no correct solution can be given of the difficult problem presented by the widely varying results of the ending -OCUM, and the Guernsey dialect does not furnish sufficiently new or valuable material to enable one to add anything to what has already been written on this subject.

§ 55.— *ɔ′* + nasal + voc.

(1) The usual development, as in *sɔn* (sonne): SONAT, etc., is similar to that in French proper. But *u* is sometimes heard among the Guernsey people: *etun* (étoune): *EXTONAT, *sun* (soune): SONAT, etc.

(2) *bu·an* (bouanne): BONAM is an exception, in which *u·a′* represents the diphthong *u·ɔ′*, with the *ɔ* unrounded under the influence of the following dental consonant.

§ 56.— *ɔ′* + final nasal.

This combination forms an exact parallel to the one treated in the preceding paragraph. The regular result *ɔⁿ* is similar to that in French proper: *sɔⁿ* (son): SONUM, etc., but *bu·aⁿ* (bouan): BONUM forms an exception.

[1] V. § 58.

II.— *ɔ′ in closed syllable.*

§ 57.— *ɔ′ + ll.*

Two words, with a product *o*, should be noticed here; *fo* (fo): FOLLEM and *ko* (co): COLLUM.

§ 58.— *ɔ′ + k* + cons.

The results are the same as for *ɔ′* (+ *k* + voc.).[1] Examples:

(*a*) for *i·e′*,[2] *ni·e* or *nje* (niet): NOCTEM, *ni·er* or *njer* (nière): NOCERE, *vi·ed* (viède): *VOCITUM.

(*β*) for *ü·i′*, *kü·ir* (tuire): COQUERE, *kü·is* (tuisse):[3] COXAM.

§ 59.— *-ŏ̈riam.*

This termination has already been discussed.[4]

§ 60.— *ɔ′* + oral cons. + *j*.

(1) When *ɔ′* is followed by an oral consonant + *j* (excepting *lj*, already mentioned),[5] it has two results: *ü·i′* and *i*. The development into *ü·i′* is observed in *kü·ir* (tuir): CORIUM; and we find *i* in *i:tr* (hître): OSTREAM, *pis* (pisse): *POTIAM, *plji:* (pllie): *PLOVIAM.[6]

(2) It would be well to call attention to the frequent reduction, in Guernsey, of *ü·i* to *i*, as just noted in *i:tr* (hître), *pis* (pisse), etc.[7]

[1] V. § 53, 1 and 2.

[2] This product is noted also in *fi·el* (fielle): FOLIAM, *i·el* (ieil): OCULUM.

[3] We also have *tfi·es* (tschiesse).

[4] V. § 46.

[5] V. § 58, NOTE 2.

[6] Cf. also *aⁿni* (enni): *INODIARE and *kiλ* (cuille): COLLIGERE. Note *apreʃ* (apprèche): APPROPIAT and *pares* (paresse): PAROCHIAM.

[7] V. § 60, 1, NOTE 6. Cf. *bri* (brit): Germ. √BRO, *fir* (fire) and *aⁿfir* (enfire): FUGIRE, *pis* (piss): PUTEUM. We also have *pi* (pis), *daⁿpi* (denpis), *dpi* (d'pîs), *pisk* (pisque), all from POST.

(3) Eggert and Joret[1] have so thoroughly treated the subject of *ɔ′* when influenced by a following *j*-sound, that nothing need be added here. The usual Guernsey products, *i·e′* and *i*, are similar to those of the Hague and of the Val de Saire. *ü*, found in our patois,[2] is heard in the Cotentin, and *üi′* is similar to the result in French proper.

§ 61.— *longe.*[3]

LONGE > *λjɑ̃* (lian), in which the mouillation of the *n* has been lost.

§ 62.— *ɔ′* + nasal + cons.

The development is similar to that in French. Examples: *kɔ̃t* (compte): COMPUTUM, *lɔ̃* (long): LONGUM, etc.

§ 63.— *ɔ′* + nasal + nasal + voc.

(1) This combination is found in *nun* (noune): NONNAM, *sum* (soume): SOMMIUM, *um* (houmme): HOMINEM.[4] Probably under the influence of Modern French, *ɔ* is sometimes heard instead of *u*: *nɔn* (nonne), *sɔm* (somme), etc.

(2) The result *u* is similar to that of the Old Franco-Norman dialect,[5] and is still heard in the Hague.[6]

U

I.— *u′ in open syllable.*

§ 64.— *u′* + oral cons. + voc.

(1) In this position, *u′* gives three results: the first like the product in French proper—*ü*, the other two being related

[1] Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, pp. 369–371; Joret, *Mélanges*, pp. 51–54; Joret, *Extraits*, pp. 154–158; Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 185–187.

[2] V. §§ 108 and 111. [3] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 204, § 220.

[4] Cf. this result with that of *o′* (+ nasal), §§ 41, 1, and 48, and with that of *o′′* (+ nasal), §§ 95, 1, and 100; also §§ 106, 1, and 123.

[5] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 50.

[6] Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 369; also Fleury, *Hague*, p. 37.

to each other—*œ* and *a'œ·*. Examples for *ü* are *kerü* (querrue): CARRUCAM, *kür* (cure): CURAM, *mür* (mur): MURUM, *nü* (nu): NUDUM;[1] for *œ* we find *asœr* (asseure) and *rasœr* (rasseure): *ASSECURARE, *dœ* (deu): DEBERE, *kofœr* (caussheure): CALCEAM, *krœ* (creû): CREDERE, *kunœ* (counneû): COGNOSCERE, *pljœ* (plleû): PLACERE, *pœ* (peû): *POTERE, *rvœ:* (r'veue): REVIDERE, *serœr* (séreure): *SERRARE, *sœ* (seû): SAPERE, *vœ* (veû): VIDERE;[2] for *a'œ·* we have *aœ·* (aeut): HABERE, *daœ·* (daeut): DEBERE, *kraœ·* (craeut): CREDERE, *kunaœ·* (counnaeut): COGNOSCERE, *maœ·r* (maeur): MATURUM, *paœ·* (paeut): POTERE, *saœ·* (saeut): SAPERE, *saœ·r* (saeur): SECURUM, *səraœ·r* (serraeure):[3] *SERRARE, *taœ·* (taeut): TACERE.

(2) The irregular verbs whose preterit and past participle both end in *ü* in French proper, have two terminations in the Guernsey dialect: *a'œ·* for the preterit, but *œ* in the past participle (*counnaeut, counneû; daeut, deû; paeut, peû*, etc.); the imperfect subjunctive is formed from the preterit (*counnaeusse, daeusse, paeusse*, etc.).

(3) In the Hague also, MATURUM > *meu*, SECURUM > *seu*.[4] Meyer-Lübke[5] says that the development of Latin ū, in the Norman dialects, forms an important question in philology; he finds that the Old Anglo-Norman texts of the South allow *u*, corresponding to *ü*, to rhyme only with itself, while in the North no difference is made, either in the writing or in rhyme, between *ü* and *o*, *ou*. The Guernsey patois accordingly, in most words with Latin ū, represents the development found in texts from the Old Northern Anglo-Norman dialects.

§ 65.— *u'* + *k* + voc.

We notice here two products: *i·e'*, in *li·e* (liet) and *rli·e* (r'liet): LUCET, and *i*, in *kɔ̃dir* (condire): CONDUCERE, *si:* (sie): *SUDICAM.[6]

[1] Also *bür* (burre): *BUTIRUM.

[2] Cf. *purvekë* (pourvê que). In these examples must also be included *jœ* (ieû): HABERE.

[3] Cf. *serœr* (séreure), given above.

[4] Fleury, *Hague*, pp. 40 ff.

[5] *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 73, 74, § 48.

[6] Cf. § 60, 2.

§ 66.— *u′* + nasal + voc.

(1) This *u′* becomes *œ*. Examples: *alœm* (alleume): ALLUMINAT, *aⁿkjœm* (enclleume): INCUDEM, *dœn* (deune): Old Irish DUN, *fɔrtœn* (forteune): FORTUNAM, *kmœn* (c'meune): COMMUNEM, *kɔⁿsœm* (conseume): CONSUMAT, *kutœm* (coûteume): *COSTUMAM, *legœm* (légeume): LEGUMINEM, *lœn* (leune): LUNAM, *pljœm* (plleume): PLUMAM, *prœn* (preune): *PRUNAM.[1] *ü*, on becoming nasalized, has been lowered to *œ*. Nasalization is, however, but slightly heard now in the words noted above, the lowering of *ü* to *œ* being the only evidence left of its previous existence.

(2) Meyer-Lübke[2] says that, in the French dialects, the development into *ün, üne* is exactly parallel to that of *in, ine;* that is also true for the Guernsey patois, since we have *œⁿ, œn* corresponding to *ɔⁿ, en.*

§ 67.— *u′* + final nasal.

No examples will be given under this heading, for the result (*œⁿ*) is the same as in French proper; but Eggert[3] should be corrected when, misled probably by the orthography, he writes that the nasal *ü*-sound remains in Guernsey, being spelt *ùn* by Métivier; the Guernsey *œⁿ* may sometimes be distinguished from the French *œⁿ* by being a narrow nasal vowel, whereas the tendency of the latter is toward wideness; but *üⁿ* is never heard.

II.— *u′ in closed syllable.*

§ 68.— *u′* + oral cons. + cons.

This result is the same as in French proper: *püf* (puche): PULICEM, etc.

[1] Cf. also *frœm* (freume), present indicative of *frümaï* (frumaïr): *FIRMARE. Cf. *rvⁿkœn* (rànqueune): *RANCORIAM.

[2] *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 80, § 57. [3] *Norm. Mund.*, p. 365.

§ 69.— $u' + k +$ cons.,
$u' +$ cons. $+ j$.

(1) As the results under these two headings are alike, they will be examined together. Examples: *bri* (brit): *BRUGITUM, *fri* (frit): FRUCTUM, *kɔ̃ⁿdit* (condite): CONDUCERE. u' was drawn forward to *ü*, because of the following *k* or *j*-sound; this *ü* may then have been unrounded to *i* under the same influence ($u' + j > ü'i' > ü{\cdot}i' > i{\cdot}i' > i$). This reduction, in its relation to the other Norman dialects, has already been examined.[1]

(2) *pərtü* (pertu) comes from PERTUSUM, and is not peculiar to the Guernsey patois.

au

I.— *a'u in open syllable.*

§ 70.— $a'u +$ oral cons. $+$ voc.,
$a'u +$ mute $+$ liquid.

(1) $a'u$ here develops into *o*. Examples: *bo:* (baue): Cymric BAW, *kljor* (cllore): CLAUDERE, *parol* (parole): PARABOLAM, *por* (paure): PAUPEREM, *ʃoz* (chose): CAUSAM, *ʒo:* (joe): GAUTAM. In *ɔr* (or): AURUM, *o* is pronounced open under the influence of the following *r*.

(2) As in other Romance languages, *ku:* (coue): CAUDAM is an exception to the rule; *u* here comes from *o*.[2]

(3) The Guernsey development of $a'u$ into *o* is the usual one in Norman dialects,[3] and this was also the pronunciation of French proper in the 17th century.[4]

§ 71.— $a'u + k +$ voc.

The change of $a'u$ $(+ k)$ into $u{\cdot}e'$, in *u·e:* (ouaie): AUCAM, must be compared with that of o' in this position.[5]

[1] V. § 60, 2.

[2] For $o > u$, v. § 39, 1, β. Notice also the two forms *kljau·* (cllaou): CLAVUM and *ʃum* (choume): CAUMA.

[3] Görlich, *Mak.*, p. xxi, 54. [4] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 53. [5] V. § 40, 1.

II.— *a'u in closed syllable.*

§ 72.— *a'u* + cons. + *j*.

The result here is the same as in the preceding paragraph; we find *ʃu·e* (chouaix): Germ. KAUSJAN and *ʒu·e:* (jouaie): GAUDIUM. Under the influence of the preceding sibilants, we sometimes hear *ü·* instead of *u·*: *ʃü·e* and *ʒü·e:*.

Chapter II.

SUBTONIC VOWELS.

a

I.— *a''* *in open syllable.*

§ 73.— *a''* + oral cons. + voc.,
a'' + mute + liquid.

A few peculiar developments are to be noted under this heading. *a''* falls in *lsi·e* (l'sier): LAXARE. In *irañi:* (iragnie): *ARANEATAM, the change of *a''* into *i* is owing to differentiation from the second syllable, and, besides, this result is similar to the one found in Old French: *iraignie.*[1] In *tuba* (tuba'): Indian TABAK, the *a''* becomes *u* under the influence of the following labial consonant. *a''* gives *a''i·* in *ai·mai·* (aïmaïr): AMARE, *ai·nai·* (aïnaï): NATUM; in the first example, this *i·* develops after the *a*, when *a* is tonic, and, from this tonic position, the form in *ai·* has been extended to *a* with secondary accent; the *a''i·* of the second example is due to the accented form *ANTIUS.

§ 74.— *k* (*g* or *qu*) + *a''* + *r*.

a'', preceded by *k*, *g* or *qu*, and followed by *r*, either in open or closed syllable, gives *e*. Examples: *egerai·* (éguéraïr):

[1] V. Körting, *Wört.*, No. 688.

Frankish *WARON, *dʒergɔⁿ* (djergon): GARG, *gerɒⁿd* (guérànde): Frankish *WARON, *gerə* (guéret): Cymric GÂR, *kerɒⁿt* (quérànte): *QUADRAGINTA, *kerbɔⁿ* (querbon): CARBONEM, *keri·o* (kériot): CARRUM, *keri·er* (querrière): *QUADRARIAM, *kerpaⁿti·e* (querpentier): CARPENTARIUM, *kerü*: (quérue): CARRUCAM, *ferʒi·e* (chergier): *CARRICARE, *feritai·* (chéritaï): CARITATEM, *fermai·* (chermaïr): CARMINARE.[1] The same result is observed when *k*, *g* or *qu* do not precede *a''*, as in *eperñi·e* (épergnier): Germ. *SPARANJAN, *erɒⁿg* (hérànguе): Germ. HRING, *eraʃi·e* (errachier): *ARRADICARE, *eret* (érête): ARISTAM, *erpɔⁿ* (herpon): *ἅρπη*, *eruzi·e* (érousier): *ARROSARE.

§ 75.— *a''* + voc.

a'', before a vowel, becomes *i·* in the following two words: *agri·ai·* (agriaïr) and *agri·a'bjë* (agriablle): GRATUM.

II.— *a'' in closed syllable.*

§ 76.— *a''* + oral cons. + cons.

The result is similar to that observed in French proper: *a''* remains. Examples: *akatai·* (acataïr): *ACCAPTARE, *batai·λ* (bataïlle): *BATTALIAM, *kjartai·* (cllartaï): CLARITATEM.

§ 77.— *a''* + secondary *j* + cons.

(1) The examples found give the result *a''i·*: *ai·gje* (aïguer): ADJUTARE, *grai·λe* (graïller): *CRATICULARE, *pai·zaⁿ* (païsan): PAGENSEM, *trai·nai·* (traïnaïr): *TRAGIMEN.[2]

(2) *lakər* (laquer) does not come from LAXARE, but from *LASKARE, where *a''* remains regularly. In the Roland we meet with a form *lasquent*.[3]

[1] Cf. *ekërbɔ* (ékerbot): SCARABAEUM, and the future and conditional of *aver* (aveir): HABERE [*ere* (érai), etc.]; also *pljeʃi·e* (plléchier): PLATEAM.

[2] Notice, however, *kastañe* (castagnier): CASTANEAM, and cf. *etrañe* (étragnier): STRINGERE.

[3] Gautier, *Roland*, line 3877. For the change of *x* (= *ks*) into *sk*, v. Schwan, *Gram.*, § 218, 2, Anm. 2.

§ 78.— $k + a'' +$ oral cons. + cons.

a'' remains here, as in French proper. Examples: *kastai·n* (castaïne): CASTANEAM, *ʃape* (chapé): CAPPELLUM, *ʃate* (châté): CASTELLUM, *ʃatjai·* (châtiaïr): CASTIGARE, etc.

§ 79.— $a'' +$ nasal + cons.

The result is $ɒ^n$. Examples: *mɒ̃te* (mànté): MANTELLUM, *mɒ̃ʒje* (màngier): MANDUCARE, *sɒ̃tai·* (sàntaï): SANITATEM, *ʃɒ̃dəl* (chândelle): CANDELAM, *ʃɒ̃sɔ̃* (chânson): CANTIONEM, *ʃɒ̃tai·* (chântaïr): CANTARE, *vɒ̃tai·* (vàntaïr): VANITARE, etc. When a'', in closed syllable, becomes nasal, its position is changed to $ɒ$, a result similar to that of o becoming $ɔ^n$, and of $ü$ giving $œ^n$. The pronunciation a^n is also heard from time to time, but is probably owing to Modern French influence.

e

I.— *e'' in open syllable.*

§ 80.— $e'' +$ oral cons. + voc.

e'' sometimes disappears entirely. Examples: *dfa*^{n} (d'fend) and *dfa*^{n}*dü* (d'fendu); DEFENDERE, *dfo* (d'faut): DE + *FALLITUM, *driv* (d'rive): DERIVARE, *dsə*^{n} (d'sein): DESIGNARE, *dzərtai·* (d'sertaïr): DESERTARE, *dzir* (d'sir) and *dzire* (d'sirrai): DESIDERIUM, *vʃə*^{n} (v'chîn) and *vla* (v'là): VIDERE.[1] In the following three cases, the result is *e*: *peri·e* (pêrier): PIRUM, *sera:i·* (sérâïe): SERUM, *trezi·em* (treisième): TRES; in these words, the development of e'' has probably been influenced by that of tonic *e*. We also find *e* in the future and conditional of *krer* (creire): CREDERE [*krere* (creirai), etc.]. *u·e''* is noted

[1] E, also, falls in *rpar* (r'pare) and *rparai·* (r'paraïr): REPARARE, *rzudr* (r'soudre): RESOLVERE, *rüsir* (russir): RE + EXIRE, *spültür* (s'pulture): SEPULTURAM, *ʒənral* (gen'ral) and *ʒənralma*^{n} (gen'ralement): GENERALEM; ĭ drops in *dlüʒ* (d'luge): DILUVIUM.

in *tu·elət* (touélette): TELAM, which is perhaps a new formation on the Modern French word. Under the influence of the preceding and following labials, we have *ü* in *fümət* (fumelle): FEMELLAM.[1]

§ 81.— *e''* + *k* + voc.

Only two examples have been found: *lai·zir* (laisir): LICERE[2] and *dmu·ezəl* (d'mouaiselle): *DOMINICELLAM.[3]

§ 82.— *e''* + voc.

In the following three examples, we observe a product *e''i·* or *ej* :*ᵊkreja'bjë* (incréyablle): CREDERE, *krei:* or *kreji:* (créyie):[4] CREDERE, *vei·e* (véyais): VIDERE. This *e''i·*, under the influence of the following vowel, has been reduced to *i·* (sometimes sounding almost like *j*) in *aᵊvi·ai·* (envy'air): *INVIARE, *əfëri·a'bjë* (efferyablle): *EFFRIDARE,[5] *nekjai·* (néquiaïr): NITIDUM, *vi·aʒ* (viage): VIATICUM.

§ 83.— *e''* + nasal + voc.

Here, *e''* disappears. Examples: *dni·e* (d'nier): DENARIUM, *fnai·* (f'naïr): FENUM, *mnai·* (m'naïr): MINARE, etc.

II.— *e'' in closed syllable.*

§ 84.— *e''* + oral cons. + cons.

The treatment of *e''* varies in this case: sometimes it remains, sometimes it disappears. Examples: *e''* remains in *mereλ* (méreille): *MIRABILIA, but falls in *skje* (s'quier): SICCARE.

[1] Cf. *prümi·e* (prumier): PRIMARIUM, also *frümai·* (frumaïr): *FIRMARE and its compounds.

[2] Cf. *pai·sᵊⁿ* (païsson): *PISCIONEM, § 85.

[3] For this result *u·e''*, cf. § 14, 5 and 6.

[4] Corresponding to Modern French *croyez.*

[5] *e''* disappears in *əfra:i·* (effrâïr): *EFFRIDARE.

§ 85.— *e''* + *sc.*

e'' develops into *a''i·* in *pai·sɔ̃* (païsson): *PISCIONEM.[1] The more usual Guernsey result, *e*, is observed in *kresɔ̃* (creissànt): CRESCERE.

§ 86.— *e''* + λ (or *ñ*).

Under the influence of the following palatal sound (λ or *ñ*), *e* has been raised to *i*. Examples: *apariλje* (appariller): *APPARICULARE, *kɔ̃·siλi* (consilli): *CONSILIARE, *oriλje* (orillier): AURICULAM, *reviλre* (revill'raient): RE + *EXVIGILARE, *ʃɔ̃·diλje* (chàndiller): CANDELAM, *viλri:* (vill'ries): VIGILARE.[2]

§ 87.— *e''* + nasal + cons.

The result here is the same as in French proper. Examples: *a·̃trai·* (entraïr): INTRARE, *sa·̃bjai·* (sembllaïr): SIMULARE, etc. In *anmi* (ann'mi): *INAMICUM, the *e''* is in open syllable, and its nasal quality is hardly perceptible.

ə

ə'' in closed syllable.

§ 88.— *ə''* + oral cons. + cons.

There are no peculiar developments in Guernsey to be noted under this heading, except the one word *presi* (pressi): PRESSATUM, where the *ə''* has become closed, probably under the influence of the following sibilant.

§ 89.— *ə''* + cons. + *j*.

In the following words, *ə''* becomes *i*, under the influence of the following *j*-sound: *ə·̃ʒinjaœ·* (inginiaeux): *INGENIA-

[1] Cf. *lai·zir* (laïsir), § 81, and *mai·nti* (maïnti), § 89. Notice also *vai·zɔ̃* (vaïsin): VICINUM.

[2] Cf. also *lifɔ̃* (lichon): LECTIONEM.

TOREM, *liʒje* (ligier): *LEVIARIUM, *miljæ·* (millaeu) and *amiljorasjɔ̃* (amiliorâtion): MELIOREM, *siñjœr* (sîgneur): SENIOREM.[1] Under this heading can come those examples in which *ə″*, followed by a palatal, develops into *i*: *likje* (liquier): O. H. G. LËKKÔN, *piñje* (pignier): PECTINARE.[2] In *rmi·ədi·e* (r'miédier): REMEDIARE, the product *i·ə″* is owing to analogy with the tonic form *rmi·əd* (r'mièdе).[3] A peculiar form is to be noted here: *mai·nti* (maïnti): MEDIETATEM;[4] this result *a″i·* has already been observed in three words, *lai·zir* (laïsir),[5] *pai·sɔ̃* (païsson)[6] and *vai·zɔ̃* (vaïsin).[6]

§ 90.— *ə″* + *k* + cons.

We notice a product *e* in *sesɔ̃t* (sésânte): SEXAGINTA and *vetür* (vêture): VECTURAM.[7]

§ 91.— *ə″* + nasal + cons.

The change is, in Guernsey, the same as in French proper: *traⁿbjai·* (trembllair): *TREMULARE, etc.

i

i″ in open and closed syllable.

§ 92.— *i″* + cons. + voc.,
i″ + cons. + cons.

(1) The whole treatment of *i″* is the same as in French proper, and might therefore be omitted here. Examples: *ivər*

[1] Cf. also *batili·e* (batilier): Anglo-Saxon BAT, *gërw·ezili·e* (gueruaîsilier): Germ. KRÄUSEL, *fili·e* (chilier): CELLARIUM.

[2] Cf. also *ərbiʒje* (herbigier): Germ. *HERIBËRC and *niai·* (niaïr): NECARE.

[3] V. § 30, 1, *α*, and cf. *aⁿpi·e″ri·e″* (empièrier): *PEJOREM.

[4] A related development is seen in *preⁿsœ* (prînseux): PRESSARE, where *e* has been nasalized as the *i* in *iʃⁿ* (ichîn), § 35, 2.

[5] V. § 81.

[6] V. § 85 and NOTE 1.

[7] Cf. the development of tonic *e*, § 14, 3 and 4.

(hiver): HIBERNUM, *viljəⁿ* (villain): *VILLANUM, etc., and also *səⁿpʎisitaï* (simpllicitaï): *SIMPLICITATEM, etc.

(2) In *süfjaï* (suffllaïr): SIBILARE,[1] the *i''* is rounded and becomes *ü* under the influence of the following labial. The rounding of *i''* in this word is not, however, peculiar to Guernsey, since Folk-Latin has the form *SUBILARE.[2]

(3) In a few words, *i''* disappears entirely: *nurtür* (nourr'ture): *NUTRITURAM, *fimna:ï* (chim'nâie): *CAMINATAM;[3] in the last example, *i''*, before falling, affected the preceding vowel, causing it to become *i*.

O

I.— *o''* *in open syllable.*

§ 93.— *o''* + oral cons. + voc.

(1) The results under this heading (*u* and *œ*) are the same as in French proper: *nuaï* (nouaïr): NODARE, *nurir* (nourrir): *NUTRIRE, etc., and *pljœraï* (plleuraïr): PLORARE, etc.

(2) Only a few exceptions, or different forms from French proper, have been found: *pjuvir* (pllouvir): *PLUERE, *purtrə* (pourtrait): PRO + TRAHERE, *ruza:ï* (rousâïe): ROS.[4]

(3) The diphthong *u·a''* is more frequently heard than the simple *u*, in a few words such as *labu·arə* (labouarait): LABORARE, *su·ari* (souaris): *SORICEM, etc. The same influence is noted in *kau·ar* (caouard): CODAM.

§ 94.— *o''* + *k* + voc.

Attention has already been called to the development of such words as *këruai·zje* (kerouaïsier): CRUCEM.[5]

[1] Cf. *vⁿgül* (àngûle): ANGUILLAM, § 38.

[2] Körting, *Wört.*, No. 7442.

[3] Cf. the fall of *e''*, § 80. Notice also *captaï·n* (cap'taïne): *CAPITANEUM, and the proper names *gljom* or *gjom* (G'llaume) and *orñi* (Aur'gni).

[4] Cf. also *ulaï* (houlaïr): ULULARE. [5] V. § 40, 1.

§ 95.— *o''* + nasal + voc.

(1) Like *o'* in the same position,[1] *o''* here becomes *u*. Examples: *dunai·* (dounnaïr) and *pardunai·* (pardounnaïr): DONARE, *pumi·e* (poumier): POMUM, *ramunai·* (ramounnaïr): *RAMONEM, *rezunai·* (raisounnaïr): *RATIONARE, *umar* (houmard): Germ. HUMMER, etc.[2]

(2) An exceptional development is seen in *na^{n}nɒ^{n}t* or *na^{n}n-nɒ^{n}t* (nennânte): NONAGINTA.[3]

II.— *o'' in closed syllable.*

§ 96.— *o''* + oral cons. + cons.

(1) The Guernsey dialect and French proper are again similar. Examples: *dutai·* (doutaïr): DUBITARE, etc. The pronunciation *u·a''* is also heard, as in *bu·afi·e* (bouachier): Frankish BUKK-, *ku·arir* (couarir): CURRERE, etc.

(2) We find two exceptions: *aʒœrnɒ^{n}* (ajeurnânt): DIURNUM, formed by analogy to *ʒœr* (jeur),[4] and *rotür* (roture): RUPTAM.[5]

§ 97.— *o''* + *l* + cons.

In *du·afma^{n}* (douach'ment): DULCEM and *pu·afə^{n}* (pouasshîn): PULLICENUM, *o''* + *l* may have gone through the stages *o''u·* > *u* > *u·ɔ''* > *u·a''*, mentioned in connection with *o'* in open syllable.[6]

§ 98.— *o''* + cons. + *j*.

o'' here develops in the same way as *o'* in like position.[7] Examples: *bu·eλə* (bouaillait) and *bu·eλə^{n}* (bouaillon): BULLIRE, *katu·eλje* (catouailler): *CATTUCULARE, *nu·ezje* (nou-

[1] V. § 41.

[2] Also *bunə* (bounet), corresponding to Modern French *bonnet*, etymology unknown.

[3] Cf. § 106, 2.

[4] V. § 43, γ.

[5] Notice also *murtrai·* (mourtraïr): MONSTRARE.

[6] V. § 39, 2 and 3, β.

[7] V. § 45.

aisier): *NUCARIUM, *pu·ezɔⁿ* (pouaison) and *aⁿpu·ezunai·* (empouaisounaïr): POTIONEM. The triphthong *u·a''i·* is, however, very frequently heard instead of this diphthong *u·e''*.

§ 99.— *o''* + *ks*.

We find the product *i* in *bisɔⁿ* (bisson) and *bisɔⁿnjər* (bissongnière): BUXUM,[1] but *u·i''* in *bu·ise* (bouissé): *BUXIDAM.

§ 100.— *o''* + nasal + nasal + voc.

The result is the same as for *o''* in open syllable.[2] Examples: *grunar* (grounard): GRUNDIRE, *numai·* (noumaïr): NOMINARE, *rkunisɔⁿ* (r'counnissànt): RECOGNOSCERE, etc.

§ 101.— *o''* + nasal + oral cons.

This result is identical with the one in French proper: *mɔⁿtai·* (montaïr): *MONTARE, etc.[3]

§ 102.— *o''* + *gn*.

We notice a change into *u·əⁿ''*, in the word *aku·əⁿtir* (accouaintir): *ACCOGNITARE. This result is probably nothing but the nasalizing of *u·a''i·*,[4] from which the *a* has fallen (*u·a''i·* + nasal > *u·a''əⁿ* > *u·əⁿ''*); the pronunciation *u·a''əⁿ* is actually heard in the Upper Parishes.

ɔ

ɔ'' in closed syllable.

§ 103.— *ɔ''* + oral cons. + cons.

The *ɔ''*, in this position, gives two results: *o* and *u*. According to the examples, *o* seems to be the more usual

[1] Notice *püſje* (puchier): PUTEUM, and v. § 60, 2. [2] V. § 95, 1.

[3] According to Körting (*Wört.*, No. 5401), this word should come under *ɔ''*, but Schwan (*Gram.*, § 133) puts it under *o''*. [4] Cf. § 50, 1.

development: *kopai·* (copaïr): COLAPHUM, *sodai·* (sodaïr): SOLIDARE, *torma*^{n} (torment): TORMENTUM, with the single word *turnai·* (tournaïr): TORNARE as illustration of the change into *u*.

§ 104.— *ɔ″* + *lj*.

ɔ″ in this combination gives, regularly, *u·a″*. Examples: *depu·aʎje* (dépouaïller): DESPOLIARE, *mu·aʎje* (mouaïller): *MOLLIARE.[1] Under the influence of the tonic forms,[2] we have *fi·eʎjaʒ* (fieillage) and *fi·eʎü* (fieillu): FOLIUM, also *i·eʎje* (ieillet) and *i·eʎi:* (ieillie): OCULUM.

§ 105.— *ɔ″* + nasal + oral cons.

It is sufficient simply to call attention to this combination. Examples: *kɔ*^{n}*parai·* (comparaïr): COMPARARE, *sɔ*^{n}*ʒje* (songier): SOMNIARE, etc.

§ 106.— *ɔ″* + nasal + nasal + voc.

(1) *ɔ″*, before double *m*, generally falls. Examples: *kma*^{n} (c'ment): QUOMO, *kmɔ*^{n}*dai·* (c'màndaïr): *COMMANDARE, *kma*^{n}*ʃ* (c'menche) and *kma*^{n}*ʃma*^{n} (c'mench'ment): *COMINITIARE, *kmod* (c'mode), *kmoditai·* (c'moditaï) and *akmod* (acc'mode): COMMODUM. But *ɔ″* becomes *u* in *kumər* (coumère): COMMATREM, *kumünje* (coumunier): COMMUNEM.[3]

(2) Attention might here be called to a few words in which *o″* + nasal > *a*^{n}; for convenience sake, they are all classed under this heading: *a*^{n}*nibü* (ennibu): OMNIBUS, *kora*^{n}*nəl* (corennel): Ital. COLONNELLO, *vola*^{n}*tai·* (volentai): VOLUNTATEM.[4]

[1] Notice the same result in *su·añe* (souagner): *SONIUM.

[2] V. § 58, NOTE 1. Cf. also *kiʎjət* (cuillette) and *akiʎir* (accuillirent): COLLIGERE.

[3] Cf. also *muñje* (mougnier): MOLINARIUM.

[4] Cf. *ə*^{n}*dɔ*^{n}*ta'bjë* (indàntablle): DOMITARE, and also § 95, 2. An opposite development has taken place in *lɔ*^{n}*dmə*^{n} (lond'main): IN + DE + MANE.

u

I.— *u″ in open syllable.*

§ 107.— *u″* + oral cons. + voc.

The regular result is the same as in French proper: *dürai·* (duraïr): DURARE, etc., but there are some exceptions: *molatr* (molâtre): MULUM, where the *u″* has been treated like a pretonic *ə*;[1] *asœrai·* (asseûraïr): *ASSECURARE and *bœvⁿ* (beuvânt): BIBERE, which have *œ*; *sœr* (seur): SUDOREM, where *u″* has been dropped entirely;[2] *aⁿrimai·* (enrhîmaïr): RHEUMA.

§ 108.— *u″* + *k* + voc.

In *rli·ezⁿ* (r'liésânt): RELUCENTEM, the development is the same as for *u′* in this position.[3] Under this heading, would probably come *rüse* (rusé): √RU-, where the following *k*, or its developed *j*-sound, has drawn *u″* forward to *ü*, itself then dropping (*u″* + *j* > *ü″i·* > *ü*).

§ 109.— *u″* + nasal + voc.

The result is the same here as in French proper. Examples: *fümai·* (fumaïr): FUMARE, *ümaəⁿ* (humain): HUMANUN, etc.[4]

II.— *u″ in closed syllable.*

§ 110.— *u″* + oral cons. + cons.

As in French proper, the development is here into *ü*. Examples: *büli·e* (bûlier): BUCULUM, *pütaəⁿ* (putain): PUTIDUM, etc.

[1] Cf. § 120.

[2] In the Vale, one of the Lower Parishes, *u″* is also dropped in *bvⁿ* (b'vânt), *bvə* (b'vait), etc.: BIBERE.

[3] V. § 65.

[4] Note also *dezünai·* (déjunaïr): JEJUNARE.

§ 111.— *u''* + cons. + *j*.

We find two results, *ü·i''* and *ü*; the latter has already been examined,[1] the former is the same as in French proper. Examples: *mënü·izje* (menuisier): MINUTUM, *ʒü·ilə* (juillet): JULIUM, but *egüʃje* (aiguchier): ACUTIARE, *rüsjo* (russiaux) and *rüslɒ̃* (russlànt): √RŪ-.[2]

§ 112.— *u''* + nasal + cons.

Wherever this combination occurs, *u''* becomes *œ̃*, as in French proper: *lœ̃di* (lundi): LUNAM, etc.

au

I.— *a''u in open syllable.*

§ 113.— *a''u* + oral cons. + voc.

The development is here the same as for *a'u* in open syllable.[3] Examples: *oreλ* or *orej* (oreille): AURICULAM, *ozai·* (ôsaïr): *AUSARE, *pozai·* (posaïr): PAUSARE, etc. We have an exception to the rule in *tu·are* (touaré): TAURUM.

§ 114.— *a''u* + voc.

This result is like the one in French proper. Examples: *luai·* (louaïr): LAUDARE, *u·ir* (ouir): AUDIRE, etc. We, however, find *a''u·* in *kljau·ai·* (cllaouaïr): CLAVUM.

§ 115.— *a''u* + *k* + voc.

a''u here gives *u·e''*, as does *a'u* in this combination.[4] Examples: *gëru·ezilje* (guerouaîsilier): Germ. KRÄUSEL, *u·eze* (ouaîsé): AUCELLUM.

[1] Cf. §§ 60, 3 and 108.
[2] Cf. also *bülje* (bûllier): *BUCULARE.
[3] Cf. § 70.
[4] Cf. § 71.

§ 116.— *a''u* + nasal + voc.

As an exceptional product is to be noted the one word *ʃumai·* (choumaïr): CAUMA.[1]

II.— *a''u in closed syllable.*

§ 117.— *a''u* + cons. + *j*.

The development here is again similar to that of *a'u* in the same position:[2] *ʃü·ezir* (chuaîsir): Gothic KAUSJAN.

Chapter III.

ATONIC VOWELS.

a

§ 118.— pret. *a* + cons. + voc.

In this position, pretonic *a* falls. Examples: *kvaœ·* (k'vaeu): CAPILLUM, *ʃmə̃* (ch'min): CAMINUM, *ʃva* (ch'va): CABALLUM, etc. This result is the same as in French proper; a difference is noted only in the two words *fren* (f'reine): FARINAM and *knai·λ* (c'naïlle): *CANALIAM.

ə

§ 119.— pret. *ə* + cons. + voc.

As in French proper, pretonic *ə*, in this position, falls. Examples: *lvai·* (l'vaïr): LEVARE, *tnir* (t'nir): TENERE, *vnir* (v'nir): VENIRE, etc. Under the influence of a neighboring

[1] Cf. § 70, 2, NOTE 2.

[2] Cf. § 72.

labial, this ɔ becomes œ, as in *lœvre* (leuvrai): LEVARE and *elœvai·* (éleuvaïr): ELEVARE.[1]

ɔ

§ 120.— pret. ɔ + oral cons. + voc.

In *sole* (sauler): SOLARIUM, ɔ gives o, but elsewhere it becomes *u·a''*, or, in a few cases, *u*. Examples: *fu·arə* (fouarêt): *FORESTEM, *ku·araʒ* (couarage): *CORATICUM, *mu·arir* (mouarir): *MORIRE,[2] but *kurən* (couronne): CORONAM, *pljuvə* (pllouvait): *PLOVERE, *vuli·e* (voulier): VOLERE.

§ 121.— pret. ɔ + voc.

When ɔ stands before a vowel, we observe two results: *a''u·* and *u*. Examples: *apau·ai·* (appaouaïr): *APPODARE,[3] but *puet* (pouète): POETAM and *puezi:* (pouésie): POESIM, which do not, however, represent a popular development.

§ 122.— pret. ɔ + *k* + voc.

A few peculiar products should be noted here. *foi·e* (foyer): FOCARIUM represents the regular development.[4] *njezⁿs* (niésânce): NOCERE has been influenced by the tonic form *nje* (niet).[5] Corresponding to the French *ü*, we find *i* in *fizi* (fîsi): FOCUM.

[1] We also hear *apœlre* (appeul'rai): APPELARE, though the infinitive is generally pronounced *aplai·* (app'laïr). Notice *akœvre* (akeuv'rai): *ACCAPARE, and even *adœrʃje* (adeurchier): *DIRECTIARE and *retœrʃje* (réteurchier): STRICTIARE, in which last two examples the vowel is not influenced by a labial.

[2] Cf. also *ku·aʃje* (couachier): COLLOCARE and *mu·aʃe* (mouaché): MONTICELLUM. Notice *si:* (s'cie): SOLLICITARE, and also *përfəⁿ* (perchain): PROPRIUM and *tërzu* (terjous): *TOTTOS + DIURNOS (cf. § 161).

[3] Corresponding to the French *appuier*: *APPODIARE, is found *apiai·* (appiaïr); cf. *aⁿniai·* (ennyaïr): *INODIARE.

[4] V. Schwan, *Gram.*, § 136.

[5] V. § 53, 1.

§ 123.— pret. *ə* + nasal + voc.

Pretonic *ə* gives *u*[1] in *bunœr* (bounheur): BONUM, *etunai·* (étounnair): *EXTONARE, *munɑ:i·* (mounâïe): MONETAM, *sunai·* (sounaïr): SONARE, *sunə* (sounet): SONUM, *tunər* (tounerre): TONITRUM, *unet* (hounnête): HONESTUM, *unetai·* (hounnêt'-taï): HONESTATEM, *unœr* (hounneur): HONOREM. In *dmai·n* (d'maïne): DOMINIUM, *ə* has fallen.[2]

Chapter IV.

CONSONANTS.

p

§ 124.— initial *p* + *l*.

In the one word *kʎjœ̃ʒje* (cllùngier): *PLUMBICARE, initial *p* has become *k*, the following *l* showing mouillation according to the usual rule in Guernsey.[3]

v

§ 125.— *v* + cons.

v, before a consonant, has fallen in *bramɑ̃* (brâment): German BRAV, *por* (paure) and *portai·* (paur'taï): PAUPEREM.[4] *v* has also dropped in *mo:* (maue): MALVAM and *ne:* (née): NIVEAM.

§ 126.— final *v*.

Final *v* has disappeared in the Guernsey pronunciation. Examples: *bœ* (bœu'): BOVUM, *nœ* (neû): NOVUM, *œ* (œu'): *OVUM.[5]

[1] Cf. §§ 95, 1, and 106, 1. [2] Cf. § 106, 1. [3] V. § 150.
[4] Cf. also *mere'ʎë* (méreille): MIRABILIA.
[5] Also *dërʃje* (derchié): CAPUT.

d

§ 127.— voc. + *dj* + voc.

d, followed by a *j*, develops into a fronted *g*. Examples: *ai·gje* (aïguier): ADJUTARE, *gja'bjë* (guiablle): DIABOLUM, *gjü* (guiu):[1] DEUM, *ogja^{n}s* (auguience): AUDIENTIAM.[2] In such words, the dental stop *d* has been changed to the palatal stop *g*, under the influence of the following palatal consonant *j*; this phenomenon is by no means a peculiarity of the Guernsey patois.[3]

§ 128.— voc. + *d* + voc.

Intervocalic *d* has fallen in *le:* (laie): Germ. LAIÐ.

§ 129.— *n* + *d*.

In one word, *d*, following immediately an *n*, has been assimilated to it: *repuni* (répounni): RESPONDERE.[4]

§ 130.— *in* + *versus*.

A *d* is intercalated in *a^{n}dvi·ər* (endviers): IN + VERSUS, one proof that the vowels followed by a nasal were not only nasalized, but that *n* was also pronounced (*a^{n}ndvi·ər*) in Guernsey longer than in Normandy, where this result has apparently not been noted in the modern dialects; this *n* has now been dropped, but, before it had disappeared, a *d* was introduced between it and the following sound; in the passage from the nasal *n* to the pure oral consonant *v*, the velum would be raised before the tongue had broken contact with the teeth, thus inevitably bringing in a *d* in the pro-

[1] When after a word ending in a vowel.

[2] Also *kogjər* (cauguière): CALIDUM.

[3] Cf. this result with the fronted *k* from *tj*, § 132.

[4] Cf. also *punü* (pounu): PONERE, corresponding to the French *pondu*, and *grv^{n}ma^{n}* (grân'ment): GRANDEM.

nunciation. A *d* would not have been introduced here if only a nasalized vowel, not followed by the consonant *n*, had preceded the *v*.

§ 131.— final *d*.

A peculiar change of final *d* (or *t*) into *k* is seen in the form *nik* (nic): NIDUM. A like change, after the vowel *i*, is not unknown in other languages.[1]

t

§ 132.— voc. + *tj* + voc.

The result here, a fronted *k*, corresponds to the one obtained from intervocalic *dj*.[2] Examples: *krekjaⁿ* (chrêquien): CHRISTIANUM, *kjaⁿ* (quien'):[3] TENET, *mekje* (méquier): MINISTERIUM, *məⁿkjaⁿdre* (mainquiendrai): MANUM + TENERE, and such words as *bakjo* (bâquiaux), etc.[4] A more popular development is observed in *pʌjəʃ* (pllèche): PLATEAM and *püʃje* (puchier): PUTEUM.

§ 133.— cons. + *tj* + voc.

(1) *tj* here develops into *ʃ*. Examples: *adœrʃje* (adeurchier): *DIRECTIARE, *avɒⁿʃ* (avànche): AB + ANTIAM, *aⁿsərʃlai·* (ensorchelaïr): *SORTIARIUM, *forʃ* (forche): *FORTIAM, *forʃi* (forchi): *FORTIATUM, *kaʃje* (cachier): *CAPTIARE, *ləⁿʃœr* (lìncheur): LINTEOLUM, *ni·eʃ* (nièche): NEPTIAM, *nœʃ* (neuches): *NUPTIAS, *pərʃi* (perchi): PERITIATUM, *si·aⁿʃ* (scienche): SCIENTIAM, *sərʃje* (sorchier): SORTIARIUM, *retœrʃi* (réteurchi): STRICTIARE. The development of *tj* into *ʃ*, in this and all dialects, is explained as follows. Between the

[1] Professor Matzke has heard, in English, *preterik* for *preterit*, *acik* for *acid*, and, in German, *Zeik* for *Zeit*.

[2] V. § 127.

[3] Especially after a word ending in a vowel.

[4] V. § 28, 1. Cf. also *ʃemkjər* (chîmquière): COEMETERIUM and *movezkje* (mauvaisqué): MALE + VATIUM.

dental *t* and the palatal *j*, an *s*-sound would be introduced, as its position lies between that of *t* and that of *j*, the point of the tongue being raised toward the teeth, accompanied with a slight rise of the back of the tongue toward the palate; this combination of sounds would then develop into *tʃj* (or *tʃ*), the *s*-sound and the *j* uniting to produce *ʃ*; under the influence of the following palatal *j*, the back of the tongue would be raised nearer to the palate than in the production of *s*, a rise that would naturally be accompanied with a lowering of the point of the tongue, and thus the *s*-sound becomes *ʃ*; the *t* of *tʃ* drops later, as it does in French proper.

(2) In this position, *tj* > *ts* > *s* in French proper[1] and in the literary Norman;[2] in the modern Norman dialects, as also in Guernsey, the result is *ʃ*.

g

§ 134.— initial *gl*.

Initial *gl* becomes *dr* in *drisai·* (drissaïr): O. H. G. *GLITZAN.

§ 135.— *g* + *i*.

The development of *g* before *i* differs from that in French proper, in the one word *gilu·ət* (guilouette): GIRARE.

§ 136.— *g* + *a*.

(1) *g*, initial or preceded by a vowel, remains here, whether *a* be unchanged or become *e*. Examples: *galət* (galette): Breton KALET, *gar* (gar): √GAR, *gardᵊⁿ* (gardin): O. H. G. GARTO, *gat* (gatte): GABATAS, *gɒⁿb* (gâmbe): √CAMB, *gərb* (guerbe), *gərbai·* (guerbaïr) and *gərbi·ər* (guerbière): O. H. G. GARBA, *gerə* (guéret): Cymric GÂR.

(2) An exception is noted in *dʒərgᵊⁿ* (djergon): √GARG; this word may have been influenced by the Modern French form.

[1] Schwan, *Gram.*, § 253, and Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 458.
[2] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 38.

§ 137.— *g* + *au*.

In *ʒo:* (jaue): GABATAM and *ʒu·e* (joué): GAUDIUM, the result is similar to that in French proper.

§ 138.— *g* + *o*.

g remains in this position, as it does in French proper. Examples: *gore* (gorret): O. H. G. GOR, *gul* (goule): GULAM, etc.

k

§ 139.— *ks* + cons.

When *ks* (= *x*) precedes a consonant, the *k* is dropped. Examples: *əskürsjɔ̃* (escursion): EXCURSIONEM, *əsküz* (esqûse): EXCUSARE, *əspλikasjɔ̃* (espllication): EXPLICARE, *əsprə* (esprès): EXPRESSUM, *əstrərdinər* (estrordinaire): EXTRA + ORDINARIUM, *əspje* (espllait): EXPLICITUM.

§ 140.— final *k*.

Final *k* usually falls in the following words: *fro* (fro'): FLOCCUM, *kro* (cro'): *CROCCUM, *mər* (mer): Germ. MARK, *trafi* (trafi'): *TRANSVICARE, and in the proper name *iza* (Isâs); but the pronunciation with a *k* is also heard.

§ 141.— voc. + *kj* + voc.

kj, preceded by a vowel, becomes *ʃ*, sometimes heard as *sʃ*. Examples: *eriʃɔ̃* (hérisshon): *ERICIONEM, *faiʃ* (faisshe): FACIAM, *koʃœr* (caussheure): CALCEAM, *maʃɔ̃* (machon): MACIONEM. Wherever *k*, followed by *j*, gives *ʃ*, it must first have been strongly fronted, and then have developed like *tj* before a vowel.[1]

[1] V. § 133, 1.

§ 142.— $k + e$ (*i*).

(1) The regular development of *k*, in this position, is into *ʃ*. Examples: *aⁿbraʃi* (embrasshi): BRACHIUM, *duˑaʃmaⁿ* (douach'ment): DULCEM, *elɔⁿʃ* (élànche): EX + LANCEARE, *limaʃ* (limache): LIMACEM, *mədʃen* (medchîne): MEDICINAM, *muˑaʃe* (mouaché): MONTICELLUM, *puˑaʃəⁿ* (pouasshîn): PULLECINUM, *purʃəsjɔⁿ* (pourchession): PROCESSIONEM, *püʃ* (puche): PULICEM, *raʃen* (rachîne): RADICINAM, *ʃaⁿ* (chent): CENTUM, *ʃɔəⁿtür* (chainture): CINCTURAM, *ʃem* (chîme): CYMAM, *ʃeⁿk* (chinq): CINQUE, *ʃlaiˑ* (ch'laïr): CELARE, *ʃliz* (ch'lise): *CERASEAM.[1]

(2) A peculiar development is noted in *pot* (pôte): Germ. POKI.

§ 143.— $k + a$.

(1) In this position, *k* remains. Examples: *akataiˑ* (acatäir): ACCAPTARE, *akvaiˑ* (ak'vaïr): CAPUT, *aⁿfurkje* (enfourquer): FURCAM, *bek* (bêque): Celtic √BACC, *brɔⁿk* (brânque): BRANCAM, *brokə* (broquet): BROCCAM, *ekapaiˑ* (écappaïr): CAPPAM, *fikje* (fiquer): FIGICARE, *hɔⁿk* (hânque): ANCAM, *ka* (cat): CATTUM, *karuˑañ* (carouagne): *CARONIAM, *kastaiˑn* (castaïne): CASTANEAM, *kaʃje* (cachier): *CAPTIARE, *katwˑalje* (catouailler): *CATTUCULARE, *ker* (quaire): CATHEDRAM, *keriˑo* (kériot): CARRUM, *kərbɔⁿ* (querbon): CARBONEM, *kərtaːiˑ* (quertâïe): CARRUM, *kərüː* (querrue): CARRUCAM, *kljok* (clloque): CLOCAM, *ko* (caud): CALIDUM, *ko* (caux): CALCEM, *koʃ* (cauche): CALCEUM, *koʃiː* (cauchie): CALCIATAM, *koʃœr* (caussheure): CALCEAM, *kvaœˑ* (k'vaeu):[2] CAPILLUM, *makje* (mâquer): MASTICARE, *pek* (pêque): PISCARI, *tuˑakje* (touaquer):[3] Germ. *TUKKÔN, *vak* (vaque): VACCAM.

[1] Cf. also *tʃü* (tchu): CULUM.

[2] Also pronounced *gvaœˑ*, where *k* has become voiced under the influence of the following sonant *v*; cf. Fleury, *Hague*, p. 45, and Beetz, *c und ch*, p. 24.

[3] This is the pronunciation of the old people; *tuˑaʃje*, or even *tuʃje*, is more usual now.

(2) This development is similar to that in the modern patois of Northern Normandy[1] and in Old Norman.[2]

(3) Six exceptions have been found, in which *k* gives *ʃ*, the same result as in French proper:[3] *ʃape* (chapé): CAPPELLUM, *ʃɒ̃dilje* (chàndiller): CANDELAM, *ʃɒ̃krë* (chàncre): CANCRUM, *ʃemna:i·* (chìmnâïe): CAMINATAM, *ʃmɔ̃* (ch'min): CAMINUM, *ʃnal* (ch'nal): CANALEM. Two further exceptions present the stage before *ʃ*: *tʃɑ̃* (tchen): CANEM and *tʃai·r* tchaïr):[4] CARNEM.[5]

(4) In the following words, *k*, before an *a*, develops into *s*: *saʃ* (çache), *saʃje* (çachier) and *saʃer* (çachaire): *CAPTIARE.

§ 144.— cons. + *k* + *a*.

The *k* here becomes *ʃ*. Examples: *bjɒ̃ʃ* (bllànche): BLANCAM, *ku·aʃje* (couachier): COLLOCARE, *marʃi* (marchi): MERCATUM, *rakurʃje* (racourchier): CURTUM.

§ 145.— *k* + *o* (*u*).

This development agrees exactly with that in French proper, being *k* when the latter is *k*, and *ʃ* when the latter is *ʃ*. Examples: *ko:n* (cône): CORNUA, *ku:* (coue): CODAM, etc., and *muʃœ* (moucheux): *MUCCARE, *ʃau·* (chaou): COLEM, etc.

S

§ 146.— *s* + voc.

The only examples of the development of *s* into *ʃ*, are *ʃuk* (chouque): SOCCUM, *ʃükr* (shuker): Arabic SOKKAR, and *frikaʃi* (fricasshi): Frankish *FRËK, *kraʃ* or *kraʃ* (crasshe): CRASSAM, *maʃakr* (masshacre): MASSACRIUM. It is to be noticed, in these examples, that *s* becomes *ʃ* when followed originally by a vowel

[1] Joret, *Extension*, p. 113. [2] Suchier, *Franç.*, pp. 41 and 80.

[3] Cf. Joret, *Bessin*, p. 227, and Beetz, *c und ch*, p. 25.

[4] The pronunciation of this word with a *tʃ* was heard only in the expression *mouaïlli jusqu'au tchaïr;* elsewhere it is always pronounced with the single *ʃ*. [5] Cf. also *etʃel* (étchelle): SCALAM.

that requires a low position of the tongue, or, in the case of *kraʃ*, when final. The reason of this development is thus made manifest: as the blade of the tongue is lower in the production of our *ʃ* than in that of *s*,[1] the former would naturally be produced in passing from *s* to any sound requiring a low position of the blade, in going, for example, from *s* to *u* or *a*, or to the position of rest, when *s* is final. The *ʃ*-sound then absorbs the preceding *s*, and first in words where the combination is initial.

§ 147.— initial *sk*.

In *skabe* (scabé): SCABELLUM, the *e* before *s impurum* has not been added, as it is in the French word *escabeau*.

§ 148.— *s* + cons.

In a few words, *s*, followed by a consonant, falls: *aⁿrʒitraiˑ* (enr'gîtraïr): REGESTRUM, *ekaliˑe* (écalier): SCALAM, *ekërbɔ* (ékerbot): SCARABAEUM, *despotem* (despotîme): δεσπότης. It has not, however, disappeared in *kastañje* (castagnier): CASTANEAM.[2]

§ 149.— final *s*.

The final *s*-sound has been retained in some words where it has dropped in French proper: *hus* (houss): Frankish HULIS and *rus* (rouss): RUSSUM; also *pis* (piss): PUTEUM.

l

§ 150.— stop cons. + *l*.

(1) When *l* is preceded by a stop consonant, or by a dento-labial fricative, it is palatalized, and even develops, in some

[1] There has been much discussion concerning the relative positions of *s* and *ʃ*; Jespersen (*Articulations of Speech Sounds*, p. 62) gives, for the French *s*, the notation *β* 1 *e f*, whereas he believes that *β f γ*›*ff* 1 indicates somewhat the position of the point and upper surface of the tongue for French *ʃ*.

[2] Cf. *ɔskeriˑai*ˑ (eskériaïr): *EXQUIRITARE.

words, into the pure palatal *j*. There seems to be no fixed rule, whereby we may know when it becomes *lj* (or *λj*), and when it develops into *j*. The pronunciation varies with different people, the better educated being apt to retain the λ, no doubt under the influence of the orthography.[1] The pronunciation wavers in such examples as *dekljerje* (déclairier): DECLARARE, *fljɒ̃ⁿbai·* (fllâmbaïr): O. H. G. FLIEDIMÂ, *kupa'-bljë* (coupablle): CULPABILEM, whereas the country-people always pronounce *j* in *bjaⁿ* (bllanc): O. H. G. BLANCH, *fje'bjë* (fièblle): FLEBILEM, *kjai·r* (cllaïr): CLARUM, *pjezi* (pllaisi): PLACERE, *saⁿbjë* (semblle): SIMULAT, *səⁿpjë* (simplle): SIMPLUM, *ta'bjë* (tablle): TABULAM,[2] etc.

(2) The question here arises as to the exact pronunciation of the first three examples given, in which was used the transcription *lj*; there may be some doubt as to whether this sound should not be written λ, or, rather, *λj*; the more usual pronunciation seems, however, to be *lj*. After all, this palatalization is a common phenomenon in the Romance languages.[3]

§ 151.— *l* + cons.

A few peculiar forms come under this heading. *l* is vowelized in *mogre* (maugré) or *mograi·* (maugraï): GRATUM and *sudar* (soudard): SOLDATUM; it becomes *r* in *karkül* (carqul) and *karkülai·* (carqulaïr): CALCULARE.

§ 152.— voc. + *l* + voc.

(1) Intervocalic *l* has suffered mouillation in a number of cases: *eku·eλja:i·* (écueillâïe): SCUTELLUM, *fiλjai·* (fillaïr):

[1] Mr. Guilbert says that *λj* (or simple λ) used to be heard, when he was a boy, much more frequently than it now is; the *j*-pronunciation predominates to-day.

[2] Mr. Corbet says that λ is heard in these examples, but they are pronounced with a *j*-sound by Mr. Guilbert and other Guernseymen.

[3] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 368–374. It should be noted that *l* has fallen in *pü* (pus): PLUS and its compounds.

FILARE, *viλjaə^{n}* (villaïn), *viλjanai·* (villanaïr) and *viλjaniz* (villanise): *VILLANUM.[1]

(2) In two words, this *l* gives *j*: *regujərma^{n}* (réguyer'ment): REGULAREM, *partiküje* (particuyer): PARTICULAREM.

§ 153.— voc. + *lj* + voc.

An opposite development from the last is observed in a few words, where intervocalic *lj*, instead of being palatalized, becomes a pure dental *l*.[2] Examples: *evil* (éville): *EXVIGILIAT, *fiel* (fielle): FOLIAM, *fil* (file): FILIAM, *kə^{n}sil* (consille): *CONSILIAT, *küli·er* (cullier): COCHLEAR.[3] This result is also noted in the Picard and the Wallonian dialects,[4] and in Old Norman.[5]

§ 154.— final *lj* (*kl*).

(1) Final *lj* (*kl*) develops into a pure dental *l* in *dœl* (deul): DOLIUM, *famil* (famille): FAMILIAM, *kə^{n}sel* (consel): CONSILIUM, *solel* (solel): SOLICULUM. In three words, final *lj* (*kl*) falls, as final *l* often does:[6] *apare* (apparé): PARICULUM, *orge* (orgué): Germ. URGOLI, *trava* (travas): *TRABACULUM.

(2) Final *kl* changes to *r* in the plural form *jər* (iers): OCULOS and in *vi·ər* (vier): *VECULUM; this development would be as follows: *kl* > λ > *l* > *r*, for it is not likely that λ would give *r* directly, without going through the stage *l*. The change of *l* to *r* is easily explained, since the effort to lower the sides of the tongue for *l* is greater than to simply loosen the point of the tongue for *r*.[7]

[1] Cf. Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 391, and also the development of *n* + secondary *j* into *ñ*, § 167.

[2] Cf. this change with that of intervocalic *gn* (*nj*) into *n*, § 166.

[3] Cf. also *büli·e* (bûllier): *BUCULARE.

[4] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 465.

[5] Görlich, *Mak.*, p. xxi, 56; Busch, *Ang.-Norm.*, pp. 47 and 68.

[6] V. § 155, 1.

[7] Cf. § 155, 2.

§ 155.— final *l*.

(1) Final *l* is no longer pronounced in a number of words:[1] *anima* (anima): ANIMAL, *bari* (bari): √BARR, *ma* (ma): MALUM, *nature* (naturé): NATURALEM, *nu·e* (Noué): NATALEM, *nü* (nu): NULLUM, *opita* (hopita): HOSPITALE, *pərta* (porta): PORTALEM, *prə^{n}sipa* (principa): PRINCIPALEM, *sœ·* (saeu): SOLUM, *ʃva* (ch'va): CABALLUM, and also in the proper names *raʃe* (Raché), *sə^{n}miʃje* (St. Michié) and *tərtva* (Torteva).

(2) In a few examples, final *l* has developed into an *r*:[2] *gʎjaʒœr* (gllajeur): GLADIOLUM, *lə^{n}fœr* (lîncheur): LINTEOLUM and the three persons of the singular of the present indicative from *VOLERE: *vœr* (j' veurs, tu veurs, i' veurt).[3] This result is a frequent one in the Romance field.[4]

§ 156.— cons. + *l* + voc.

As with *r* in this position,[5] we have metathesis of the *l* in four words: *a^{n}piljai·* (emp'yllaïr): IMPLICARE, *ɔ^{n}biljai·* (onbillaïr): *OBLITARE, *pübiljai·* (pubillaïr): PUBLICARE and *rpiljai·* (r'pillaïr): PLICARE.

r

§ 157.— voc. + *r* + voc.

The change of intervocalic *r* into *l* is illustrated by the following examples: *bërüəl* (beruelle): BRUERAM, *gilu·ət* (guilouette): GIRARE, *prokülœ* (proculeux): PROCURATOREM, *ʃliz* (ch'lise): *CERASEAM.

§ 158.— final *rj*.

In the one word *fər* (fère): FERIAM, final *rj* becomes a pure dental *r*.[6]

[1] This *l* may be pronounced sometimes, but very rarely.
[2] Cf. § 154, 2. [3] Cf. also *koronəl* (coronel): Italian COLONELLO.
[4] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 408–410. [5] V. § 161.
[6] Cf. with this one, the development of final *lj* (*kl*) into *l*, § 154, 1.

§ 159.— final *r*.

Latin final *r* disappears in some words. Examples: *asi·e* (assiê'): SEDERE, *ave* (avé): HABERE, *be* (bê): BIBERE, *kei·* (quêi'): CADERE, *kuvri* (couvri'): COPERIRE,[1] *malœ* (malheû): AUGURIUM, *miljaœ·* (milliaeu): MELIOREM, *pλjezi* (pllaisî): PLACERE, *se* (sé): SERUM, *sü* (sus): SUPER, *tërʒu* (terjous): DIURNOS, *ve* (vê): VIDERE, and also the nouns ending in *œ* (for *œr*), such as *fofœ* (faucheux), *pœ* (peû), *volœ* (voleux). The only remaining effect of this *r* is the lengthening of the final vowel; although this vowel may not be unusually long, yet it can never be pronounced short. In many words, the custom of dropping the final *r* is not yet firmly established; in most of the examples just given, *r* is sometimes pronounced. In many words, the final *r* is never dropped; the exclamation *ver* (ver): VERE, for instance, is never heard as *ve*, though of exceedingly common occurrence; the usual pause after this word doubtless prevents the *r* from falling. We always hear, also, *saver* (saver): SAPERE.

§ 160.— *r* + *l* (*n*).

Before a dental consonant (either *l* or *n*), *r* disappears, having been assimilated to the following sound.[2] Examples: *epa"ñ* (épaugne): Germ. *SPARANJAN, *kon* (cône): CORNUA, *mel* (mêle): MERULAM, *oloʒ* (hôloge): HOROLOGIUM, *palai·* (pâlaïr): *PARABOLARE, *ulai·* (oûlaïr): *ORULAM.[3]

§ 161.— cons. + *r* + voc.

(1) This combination is very frequently changed to cons. + voc. + *r*, with sometimes a change in the quality of the vowel.* Only a few examples, from a great many, will be

[1] And so with most of the *-ir* infinitives.

[2] Cf. Fleury, *Hague*, p. 51, and Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 390.

[3] *r* falls also before an *s*-sound in *pask* (pasque), equivalent to the French *parce que*, and in *travsv"* (trav'sànt): TRANSVERSUS, with the tenses formed from this present participle. As in French, *r* drops in such sentences as *aut' matin, ent' leux dents*, etc., where *r* follows a dental *t* and precedes a consonant. Cf. the proper name *margit* (Marguite).

taken as illustrations of this change: *fərma*ⁿ (forment): FRUMENTUM, *adœrʃje* (adeurchier): *DIRECTIARE, *përza*ⁿ (persent): PRAESENTEM. In *bërbi* (berbis): *BERBICEM, the Guernsey form seems to be nearer the Latin etymon than is the result in French proper, but such is probably not the case; if *bërbi* had come directly from *BERBICEM, the *e* would have been open, as for example, in *pərtü* (pertu): PERTUSUM.

(2) A similar result is seen in words that have as initial consonants a stop (or *f*, *v*) + *r*. An *ë* is introduced here, between the consonant and the *r*: *përiai·* (periaïr): PRECARE, *bërüəl* (beruelle): BRUERAM, etc. It is, therefore, probable that such words as the two mentioned above (*përza*ⁿ and *bërbi*) show a mingling of the two laws just given; according to the first, the combinations *pre-* and *brə-* would become *per-* and *bər-* respectively; but the second law would cause the development of *pre-* and *brə-* into *përe-* and *bërə-* respectively. *për-* would, therefore, be a mixture of *per-* and *përe-*, and likewise with *bër-*, which would be the mixed product of *bər-* and *bërə-*. It should be observed that the pronunciation of *ë* in *bërbi* is not precisely the same as that of *e* in the French form *brebis;* the *ë* is rather between the French *e* of *cheval*, *brebis*, and *ə*. If this were not so, our *bërbi* would be developed regularly from *brëbi*, according to the first rule mentioned in this section: *brë-* > *bër-*.

(3) These two laws should now be explained. The combination of a stop + *r* was probably the first to change. When an *r*, following a consonant, is strongly trilled, and consequently held for some length of time, an indefinite *ë*-sound is almost unavoidably introduced between it and the preceding consonant; if, for example, the *r* in *priai·* be trilled (= *prrriai·*), it would soon develop an *ë* between itself and the *p* (= *përiai·*). The next combinations to change would be those with consonant + *r* + *e* (*ə* or *ë*), such as *pre-*;[1] the

[1] An illustration with an *e*, instead of an *ə* or *è*, is made use of here, because *e* is further removed from the final result *ë* than are either *ə* or *ë*, and what would apply to it, would, *a fortiori*, apply to the other two vowels.

first step might be *përe-*, and then, owing to the similarity in sound between the two *e*'s, the second would drop, but the first would take its quality, to compensate for its loss (i. e., *pre-* > *përe-* > *per-*). The *e* in this last result (*per-*) would then become *ə* (or *ë*), under the influence of the following *r*, and such forms as *përzaⁿ*, *bërbi* would be the result; this change in the quality of *e* would be made easier by the existence of such regular forms as *përiaiˑ*, or, in other words, there would be mixture. Upon this development becoming more frequent, this law would then be easily applied to words with other vowels, like *formaⁿ* (forment). In all these explanations, we must not leave out of consideration altogether the vowel-like quality of *r* and the ease with which it can be changed from one position in the word to another.

§ 162.— added *r*.

An *r* has been introduced into two words, *rüdr* (rudre): RUDEM and *sudar* (soudard): SOLDATUM.

§ 163.— closed voc. + *r*.

An important question to be considered, is the effect of *r* on a preceding closed vowel. A closed vowel always requires a high and tense position of the tongue, and such a position, whether front or back, is accompanied by a withdrawal of the point of the tongue from the teeth. Since, in the production of the Guernsey *r*, the point of the tongue is raised toward the teeth, the front or back of the tongue would be less tense and be somewhat lowered, in order to allow the point to press forward and be sufficiently loose to vibrate freely:[1] thus an open vowel, instead of the closed one, would most naturally be the result.

[1] According to Jespersen, this position might be indicated by βx^{e-f} or even βx^{e-fg}; a different notation would be *βf* or *βfg*.

m

§ 164.— *mm.*

In the pronunciation of the word *fλjɒmb* (fllâmbe): FLAMMAM, the velum is raised before the vocal chords cease vibrating, and thus, instead of a long *m*, is heard the combination *mb*.[1]

n

§ 165.— *n* + *t*.

n becomes *r* in *murt* (mourte) and *murtrai·* (mourtraïr): MONSTRARE; this change is simple, as both consonants are dental. This product is observed also in other languages.

§ 166.— voc. + *gn* (*nj*) + voc.

Instead of becoming *ñ*, as in French proper, intervocalic *gn*, in a few words, gives a pure dental *n*.[2] Examples: *ə"dinai·* (indinaï): DIGNUM, *kastai·n* (castaïne): CASTANEAM, *sen* (sîne): SIGNUM, *sinifai·* (sinifiaïr): SIGNIFICARE and the proper name *almai·n* (All'maïne).[3]

§ 167.— *n* + secondary *j*.

In a few words, where French proper has the pronunciation *nj*, the Guernsey patois has *ñj*.[4] Examples: *diñje* (dignier): DENARIUM, *mañjer* (magnière): MANUARIUM, *ñje* (gniais): *NIDIACEM, *ʃɒ"suñje* (chànsougnier): CANTIONEM.[5]

§ 168.— *r* + *n* + *r*.

In *rturɔ"* (r'toûron), equivalent to the French *retournerons*, the *n* has been assimilated to *r*. Another example, where *n*

[1] For similar phenomena, v. Passy, *Changements phonétiques*, p. 216, § 535.
[2] Cf. this result with that of *l* from intervocalic *lj*, § 153.
[3] Cf. also *grunai·* (grounnaïr) and *grunar* (grounard): GRUNNIRE.
[4] Cf. this development to that of intervocalic *l* into λ and *j*, § 152.
[5] Cf. also *mu·añ* (moigne): Greek *μόνιος*.

has fallen, perhaps through differentiation from the first syllable, is *pi·anpi·a* (piâ-n-piâ), meaning "slowly," "gently."

§ 169.— voc. + *ñ*.

In a few words, *ñ* has nasalized the preceding vowel, or, rather, the nasalization of this vowel, before the following *ñ*, has not disappeared in the Guernsey dialect: *epaⁿñ* (épangne): Germ. *SPARANJAN, *kʊⁿpaⁿñ* (câmpengne): CAMPANEAM, *kɔⁿpaⁿñi:* (compengnie): *COMPANIONEM.[1]

§ 170.— nasalization of vowels.

A few words have been found, in our patois, in which the vowel has been nasalized, even when not followed by a nasal consonant.[2] Examples: *daⁿpi* (denpîs): DE + POSTEA, *ɔⁿbiljaï·* (onbillaïr): *OBLITARE, and also *fɔⁿʒ* (in the expression *ma finge*), if from FIDEM.[3]

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[1] Cf. also *deⁿmaⁿf* (Dînmanche): DOMINICUM, *deⁿnaï·* (dînnaïr): *DISJUNARE and the preterit ending of the first person plural *-eⁿm* (-înmes), corresponding to the French *-îmes*.

[2] Cf. the nasalization of final *i'*, § 35, 2.

[3] *eragje* (éragier): *RABIARE, on the contrary, may be an example of the loss of the nasalization.

LIFE.

I, Edwin Seelye Lewis, was born in Amherst, Massachusetts, on the 23d of July, 1868. When I was two years old, my family moved to Beirut, Syria, where I lived for eight years, attending, as soon as old enough, the French School of the Sisters in that city. At ten, I went to Geneva, Switzerland, and studied in the schools of that place for five years, after which I returned to America. One year was spent in Westminster, Vermont, with private teachers. I then entered Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana; obtained the degree of A. B. in 1888, and was awarded "for merit" that of A. M. in 1891. In the autumn of 1888, I entered the Romance Language department of the Johns Hopkins University, where I remained until taking my Doctor's degree in 1892, being appointed Scholar in 1889, Fellow in 1890, Assistant in Romance Languages and Fellow by Courtesy in 1891. In 1892, I was appointed Instructor in Romance Languages at Princeton University. As a second minor I studied the history of the Renaissance in Italy, my major subject and first minor including the philology and literature of the Romance Languages. I spent the summers of 1889 and 1891 in Guernsey, Paris and London, preparing the present dissertation. While at the Johns Hopkins University, I studied under Professors Elliott, Adams, Todd, F. M. Warren and Bloomfield, whom I respectfully thank for the valuable aid and instruction given me.